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East Europe

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Activities at Vienna CSCE Meeting Highlighted

PPR Delegate Gives Address

LD1401010489 Warsaw PAP in English
2358 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, 13 Jan—Speaking on behalf of the delegations of seven Warsaw Treaty states during plenary debates of the CSCE meetings which resumed here tonight, the head of the Polish delegation said that in the situation when a disputable fragment of the mandate of the negotiations of the 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states on conventional armaments in Europe is the only one that remains to be solved, the Friday night and Saturday are the last chance.

This is a time in which a problem not belonging to the sphere of East-West relations but being an internal problem of the Western alliance must be solved, Ambassador Wlodzimierz Konarski said.

If NATO states do not undertake efforts to find a compromise solution, it will be entirely clear who will be responsible for the absence of the possibility of agreeing upon a mandate of negotiations of the 23 states, thus also the Vienna CSCE final document.

On their part, socialist states undertook all possible efforts to contribute to solving the crisis around the zone of applying disarmament decisions. One should continue to intensively seek the solution but it cannot violate the security interests of any of the participating states, Ambassador Konarski stressed.

Mladenov Meets Austria's Mock

AU1601191989 Sofia BTA in English
1831 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, January 16 (special BTA correspondent)—Today, Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's foreign affairs minister who arrived in this city for participation in the final stage of the Vienna follow-up meeting met with Mr Alois Mock, Austrian vice-chancellor and foreign affairs minister. During the friendly talk an assessment was made of the results of the Vienna meeting of the countries participating in the all-European meeting for security and cooperation. A common assessment was made that the new trends of understanding had a decisive influence for its successful ending. All states, participating in this forum contributed to this.

Mr Petur Mladenov stressed upon the role of Austria as a country-host of the meeting. Mr Alois Mock expressed his thankfulness to Bulgaria for backing the Austrian bid for hosting the meeting right in the beginning.

Bulgaro-Austrian relations were considered at the meeting and were evaluated by both sides as extremely good. It was pointed out that there are possibilities for them to develop further. A consideration was made of relations in the political, economic and cultural sphere and the ways were mapped out for the future development.

The meeting was held in a constructive spirit and in a friendly atmosphere and the readiness of the two countries was outlined for the further development of mutual relations.

Mladenov Rejects Accusations

AU1701193889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1830 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Summary of speech delivered by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, at closing session of CSCE Conference in Vienna on 17 January; read by announcer]

[Text] Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of our country, delivered a speech at the first meeting of the CSCE closing session in Vienna.

The Bulgarian foreign minister convincingly described the importance of the Vienna meeting's final document as a well-balanced, comprehensive, and specific document which proposes considerable solutions for essential progress in all spheres of the all-European process, stressing that these solutions are significant both in regard to their scope and their substance. They will contribute to promoting cooperation among the countries and participation in the conference to a new level.

There is no doubt that one of the most significant results of the Vienna forum is related to the military aspects of security, Petur Mladenov said. The decision to continue the negotiations on confidence building and security measures and to begin new negotiations on conventional arms should be mentioned in particular. This is a new cornerstone in East-West relations, the Bulgarian foreign minister added.

As representative of the country which was entrusted with the honorable task of organizing an all-European ecological meeting in 1989, Petur Mladenov expressed our government's readiness to do everything within its power in order to make this forum successful.

As to the statement of my Turkish colleague concerning my country, I will state as follows, Minister Petur Mladenov declared.

In our opinion, it is not the appropriate time to engage in a discussion with Turkey related to its stand on human rights in other countries, and in Turkey itself, although a great deal could be said on this subject.

I would just like to inform the audience that a dialogue is being conducted between our two countries on the entire complex of bilateral relations. We should only point out with regret that the Turkish minister's declaration, which contains Ankara's well-known, unfounded claims against Bulgaria, is actually aimed at undermining this dialogue and at discrediting the all-European process as a whole.

Mladenov Holds More Meetings

AU1801084389 Sofia BTA in English
0817 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, January 18 (BTA special correspondent Nencho Khranov)—The participation of Mr. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, in the final stage of the Vienna follow-up conference provided also an opportunity for animated political dialogues in the sphere of bilateral relations.

Yesterday Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the FRG, gave a dinner in honour of Mr. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs. There was an extensive discussion on the key problems of international relations. The positive trends in international life were pointed out with satisfaction. The two ministers underlined that Bulgaria and the FRG share similar positions with regard to eliminating the political, economic and technological separation in Europe.

A number of questions of the bilateral cooperation were discussed in detail, especially those related to the fulfillment of the agreements reached by Mr. Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, and President Dr. Richard von Weizsaecker during the visit of the state leader of the FRG to Bulgaria. The measures for their fulfillment and for the further advancement and extension of the mutually advantageous cooperation were also outlined. The two ministers exchanged detailed information on the restructuring in Bulgaria and the other socialist countries and on the processes of integration in Europe.

The discussion was held in a constructive and friendly atmosphere.

Mr. Petur Mladenov had also a meeting with Mr. Yeoryios Iakovou, minister of foreign affairs of Cyprus. The two ministers discussed the results of the Vienna follow-up meeting. An analysis of the situation in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean was made.

Minister Iakovou highly appreciated the development of bilateral relations, the rapprochement and the proximity of the positions of the two countries on key international problems. Measures to be taken for the further promotion of the state-to-state contacts were also discussed.

Yesterday Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov had a meeting with Mr. Sten Andersson, minister of foreign affairs of Sweden. The two ministers expressed their shared satisfaction with the general improvement of the international climate which found its expression in the successful completion of the Vienna follow-up meeting. The constructive efforts of the two countries along these lines were emphasized. Mr. Petur Mladenov and Mr. Sten Andersson underlined the wish of Sweden and Bulgaria to promote their cooperation in different fields. In particular, they pointed out that it is necessary to coordinate the activities aimed at the protection of environment. In this connection the role of the ecological forum which is to be held in the autumn in Sofia was underlined.

An extensive survey of the relations between the two countries was also made and some questions of mutual interest were discussed.

Foreign Minister Mr. Petur Mladenov had a meeting with Mr. Mesut Yilmaz, minister of foreign affairs of Turkey.

Later on, the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs left for his motherland.

Loncar Arrives 16 Jan

LD1601223989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1832 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, Jan 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secreary Budimir Loncar arrived this evening in Vienna to participate in the official three-day closing session of the Vienna meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) together with foreign ministers of other singatories of the Final Act of the Helsinki meeting.

According to official CSCE announcements, Loncar will address the final session which opens in the Austria Congress Centre tomorrow morning.

Loncar flew to Vienna from Nicosia, where he had participated in the work of the nonaligned countries' ministerial committee.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary is expected to have a number of bilateral meetings with foreign ministers of CSCE member-countries, including talks with Austrian Vice-Chancellor Alois Mock.

CSSR's Johanes Attends

LD1601210789 Prague CTK in English
1928 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna Jan 16 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes arrived here today to participate in the next three days in the final session of the Vienna follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Varkonyi Participates

LD1601234989 Budapest MTI in English
2056 GMT 16 Jan 89

[text] Vienna, January 16 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi arrived in Vienna Monday evening to attend the closing three-day foreign ministerial session of the Vienna follow-up meeting to start on Tuesday. Mr Varkonyi is scheduled to address the session on Wednesday.

Meeting of Balkan States Begins in Albania

Foreign Press Arrives

AU1701162689 Tirana ATA in English 0755 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, January 17 (ATA)—The meeting of the vice ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries begins in Tirana on January 18. This meeting will be attended by delegations from all the Balkan countries, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Albania. The meeting will evaluate the realisation of the inter-Balkan activities envisaged to be conducted in 1989 and their influence on the relations among the Balkan countries, opinions will be exchanged on the program of activities for 1989 and the date and venue for the other meeting of senior representatives of the foreign ministries of the Balkan countries will be fixed. The meeting will hold its proceedings in the halls of Hotel "Tirana," in the capital of Albania. Groups of reporters of news agencies, the press, radio, and television from the Balkan and other countries continue to come to attend the proceedings of this meeting.

Delegations Arrive

AU1801090789 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, January 18 (ATA)—The delegations of the Greek Republic, the Republic of Turkey, and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, that will take part in the meeting of deputy foreign ministers of Balkan countries, arrived in Tirana today. The delegation of the Greek Republic is headed by Konstandinos Yeoryios, general secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that of the Republic of Turkey by Tansug Bleda, deputy secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and that of the People's Republic of Bulgaria by Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs. The delegations were received by Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Likewise, the delegations of the SR of Romania, headed by Constantin Oancea, deputy foreign minister, and the delegation of the SFR of Yugoslavia, headed by Milivoje Maksic, federal deputy secretary, arrived in Tirana today morning.

The meeting of deputy ministers of foreign affairs, in which delegations from the six countries of the Balkan peninsula will take part, begins its proceedings tomorrow morning in one of the halls of the Hotel Tirana in the capital.

As has been reported, the delegations will exchange views at this meeting on the activities in which Balkan countries participated last year, and will make efforts to define paths for the future and future activities to assist the expansion of multilateral cooperation. The proceedings of the meeting will be followed by a number of journalists from various news agencies and the press, radio, and television of Balkan and other countries.

Deputy Ministers Open Talks

AU1801113989 Tirana ATA in English 1105 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, January 18 (ATA)—The meeting of deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan countries began its proceedings in one of the halls of "Tirana" Hotel today, at 1000 hours, before noon. Attending the meeting are delegations from the PR [People's Republic] of Bulgaria, the Greek Republic, the SR of Romania, the Republic of Turkey, the SFR of Yugoslavia, and the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania.

Kapllani, Malile Address Meeting

AU1801123589 Tirana ATA in English 1120 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, January 18 (ATA)—The meeting of the vice ministers of the foreign affairs of the Balkan countries began its proceedings today before noon in one of the halls of "Tirana" Hotel. Taking part in the meeting are the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by the vice minister of foreign affairs, Ivan Ganev; the delegation of the Greek Republic, headed by the secretary general of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, Konstandinos Yeoryiou; the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, headed by the vice minister of foreign affairs, Constantin Oancea; the delegation of the Republic of Turkey, headed by deputy under secretary at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, Tansug Bleda; the delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, headed by the federal vice secretary for foreign affairs, Milivoje Maksic; and the delegation of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, headed by the vice minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani.

The meeting was declared open by the vice minister of the foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, in the capacity of the chairman representing the host country. He wished welcome to the participants in this meeting, who will discuss and decide on the activities in the future aiming at promoting the concrete, useful, and realisable cooperation among the Balkan countries. The PSR of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani pointed out, develops good-neighbourly relations with all the Balkan countries. It is also engaged in the multilateral activity in the region, being convinced that in this way it contributes to the initiated process of the Balkan cooperation. The head of the Albanian delegation expressed his conviction that being inspired by the lofty aims of establishing understanding and confidence, the meeting will contribute to the materialization of the common desire for a most fruitful cooperation to the benefit of the peoples of the Balkan region.

Then, he gave the floor to the minister of foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, who stressed that the development of the relations of friendship and cooperation with the Balkan countries represents a permanent orientation of the foreign policy of the PSR of Albania. This orientation stems from the good-neighbourly policy and the special place Albania accords to the relations with the Balkan countries, which it considers as an objective necessity in full accordance with the aspirations of our peoples.

The foreign affairs minister of the PSR of Albania expressed his conviction that the proceedings of this meeting will be pervaded by the efforts to strengthen the multilateral cooperation, to find out those domains and activities which are common and require a fruitful collaboration in the region. After stressing that the PSR of Albania sincerely desires that an atmosphere of understanding and confidence prevails in the Balkans, as an indispensable condition for the development and progress of our region, he expressed his conviction that this meeting will be a success.

Further on, Reis Malile read out the message that chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Adil Carcani, has addressed to the meeting of the vice ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries.

Carcani Sends Greeting

AU1801123989 Tirana ATA in English 1135 GMT 18 Jan 89

["Message of Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR (People's Socialist Republic) of Albania, Addressed to the Meeting of the Vice Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan States"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 18 (ATA)—It is a special pleasure that on behalf of the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in my own name to extend to you warm greetings and wish complete success to your meeting.

The Albanian Government, consistent in its policy of good neighbourliness and convinced in the benefit of multilateral cooperation on regional scale, is sincerely interested that the spirit of understanding, confidence, peace, and security prevail over the Balkans. It highly evaluates the commitment and constructive efforts serving this aim.

We notice that since the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states steps have been made to create a favourable atmosphere. Consequently, a positive process of cooperation has initiated in the Balkans, which although in its beginning, is promising and shows that possibilities exist to carry it forward in many fields of common interest. The further promotion of the bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans and the fundamental interests of our peoples, which have been living in centuries as neighbours, make it indispensable to overcome the difficulties and the nonstop strengthening of the friendship among them. I express the confidence that the political will and joint efforts to attain this lofty goal will not lack.

Once more wishing to your meeting full success, I express the conviction of the Albanian Government that the Balkan cooperation will be enriched with new content, will mark other important achievements, and will progress continuously. I assure you that the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, just like till now, will spare no efforts to ensure that this cooperation yield its fruits to the benefit of our friendly peoples, peace and stability in our region, the Mediterranean and Europe.

Press Comments on Paris Chemical Weapons Talks

AU1801100489 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Jan 89 p 4

[Sokol Gjoka article: "The Most Important Thing: Implementing the Agreements"]

[Text] The International Conference on the Prevention of Chemical Weapons concluded its proceedings in Paris recently. The conference reached a consensus on a concluding statement, on the basis of which the participating countries committed themselves to not using chemical weapons and called for an international convention banning the development, production, storage, and use of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

The approval of the concluding statement and the call for an international convention are correct steps toward reducing world tension, and have been welcomed by international public opinion. The harm that has been done by the use of chemical weapons in different regions of the world, even recently, has had dreadful consequences for mankind. Such a convention was called for in 1925, and was reflected in the Geneva protocol banning the use of poison gas and bacteriological weapons in war. This protocol was followed by various UN resolutions on the problem. However, these protocols and resolutions have not been implemented.

Reaching agreements and signing resolutions on various aspects of disarmament represent important steps in international activity. But it is more important to implement these agreements and make them a reality. Statements before world public opinion on enacting this or that agreement not only commit a state, but entrust it with an obligation to act on this commitment.

Agreements and resolutions of different kinds must always be acted upon, especially at times of tension and local confrontation. They must be observed by everybody, by both large and small countries. In this context, such international organizations as the United Nations, where these agreements and resolutions are made, have a greater role to play, especially when they are open to the judgment of the entire world and of UN member states. The strength of international public opinion can and must lead to the collapse of the militaristic and warmongering plans of the superpowers and other powers, and bring these powers face to face with their responsibility wherever international agreements and standards are violated to the detriment of peace and the freedom and independence of the peoples. In this context, Albania has also made its contribution. Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, stated at the International Conference for the Prevention of Chemical Weapons that Albania not only is and always has been in favor of banning the production, storage, and use of chemical weapons, but is in favor of their total elimination, just as Albania is in favor of the elimination of nuclear weapons and other instruments of mass extermination.

Myftiu Receives Decoration on 70th Birthday

AU1701163189 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, January 17 (ATA)—On occasion of the 70th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Manush Myftiu, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA [AWP] and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, the ceremony of the handing over of the superb decoration "Order of Freedom, First Class" was organized at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, on January 16. The Presidium conferred it to him at the proposal of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party for distinguished services to the benefit of the socialist homeland.

Present were the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia; and Comrades Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers; the members of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, Besnik Bekteshi; Foto Cami; Hajredin Celiku; Hekuran Isai; Lenka Cuko; Prokop Murra; Rita Marko; Simon Stefani; the alternate members of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Vangjel Cerrava; the member of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the General Council of the DFA [Democratic Front of Albania], Nexhmije Hoxha; members of the party Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the Government, leading cadres of ministries, institutions, and central mass organizations.

Comrade Ramiz Alia held the speech on the occasion. He stressed among others that Comrade Manush Myftiu, since he was young, absorbed the communist ideas and is a party member since the founding of party. During the National Liberation War, he claimed distinction for determination and loyalty to the cause of the party and people and as a brave fighter, qualified agitator and propagator of the struggle of our people. Further on Comrade Ramiz Alia said that the activity of Comrade Manush Myftiu has been broad and fruitful also over the years of the socialist construction. Comrade Manush Myftiu has made and makes a distinguished contribution to the consolidation of the party and the people's power, the all-sided development of our socialist society, the continuous strengthening of the defence capacity of the homeland. His role has been particularly great regarding the progress of our education, culture, and science. Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out also the resolute struggle of Comrade Manush Myftiu against the enemies of the party and socialism in defence of the victories of the people, Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

French President Mitterrand on Official Visit

Comments on Relations

AU1701202089 Sofia BTA in English
1819 GMT 17 Jan 89

["Francois Mitterrand Interviewed by Bulgarian Television"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 17 (BTA)—This evening the Bulgarian television aired an interview given by Mr. Francois Mitterrand, president of France, who arrives here tomorrow on a state visit at the invitation of Mr. Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council. The French leader answered a number of questions related to the cooperation between the two countries, the East-West relations and the problems of detente and disarmament.

"I would like that France, France of the European Community and such as we see it to be in 1992 in particular, should turn here eyes to the other part of the continent, that part where Bulgaria is. I think that the state in which our relations are is unsatisfactory. Really, from time to time one or the other country reminds of itself with its activities, but it is not enough, it is not normal. We should not only meet, as it is done in Western Europe within the European community of the Twelve. We should build new interrelations between the two parts of Europe separated by historic circumstances which you know very well. It seems to me that from this point of view this visit to Bulgaria will be of particular interest", Mr. Francois Mitterrand pointed out.

"The fact that we—the 12 countries in Europe—removed the internal frontiers between us will not affect in any new aspect our relations with the other European countries. Probably there will be more unity in economic, commercial, cultural, technological and other activities. In any case, it is true that the agreements between the European Community member-countries and the countries of the so-called Eastern Europe are on the whole too fragile, they are almost non-existent, except for some particular cases. It is not so simple, because if we want to have a broad view on Europe, on what it is going to be at the beginning of the next century, we must know that we cannot go on ignoring each other. I am one of those who will advocate an increase of the practical agreements between your country and Europe", the French president said.

Speaking about the results of the Vienna follow-up conference and the Paris conference on the prohibition of chemical weapons and commenting on the negotiations held between the Soviet Union and the United States on strategical nuclear weapons, Mr. Francois Mitterrand expressed his hope that 1989 will be a year which will mark an advancement in the rapprochement of peoples and a progress in the field of human rights.

"Following the insufficiently developed commercial, economic and even cultural relations between Bulgaria and France, I think that my visit to your country and the meetings with the president of the State Council, Mr. Todor Zhivkov, will open a real possibility for their being improved. At the very beginning of our conversation I said that I had an opportunity of meeting Mr. Todor Zhivkov in Sofia. I will be interested in meeting this man of experience whose prestige is recognized once again. I am very happy to meet the Bulgarian people. I believe that the concrete talks I will have with the leaders of your country and, first of all, with our state leader, will be very useful", the French state head said in conclusion.

Arrives 18 Jan

AU1801111289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1100 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] A short while ago the ceremony officially welcoming French President Francois Mitterrand took place at the Boyana Residence. In front of the residence, decorated with the official Bulgarian and French flags, Comrade Todor Zhivkov cordially welcomed Francois Mitterrand to Bulgaria. The French president received the report of the commander of the honor guard lined up in his honor. The national anthems of the two countries were played. Military honors were presented.

Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, introduced to Francois Mitterrand the officials who attended the ceremony: Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, and Stoyan Ovcharov, as well as representatives of [words indistinct].

The two heads of states reviewed the ceremonial parade of the honor guard.

Soviet Ambassador on Relations, Restructuring

AU1201162789 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian
Issue 2, 9 Jan 89 pp 1, 11

[Interview with Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, by Penka Cherneva: "A Friendship Like a Living Organism"—in Sofia on 31 December]

[Text] [Cherneva] One day before the new year we, a group of POGLED journalists, went to the Soviet Embassy to finish an interview we had begun in writing. We carried with us just two phonograph records, with the eternal songs of Bulgaria and favorite Soviet songs, recorded at the choice and wish of thousands of readers. Instead of flowers and souvenirs, we carried those records as a symbol of the most sincere human affection. These songs served as a warm human background of shared thoughts in parting with 1988, at the threshold of 1989, which we would all like to be a better and more fruitful year.

The question: "How would you like to be introduced to the POGLED readers?" had remained unanswered. We did not wish to leave without asking it. "All right," the ambassador said, "An interview is an interview."

Viktor Vasiliyevich Sharapov was born in Moscow on 17 March 1931 into a family of soldiers. He spent the summer of 1941 with his grandparents in a village in Tula Oblast. They did not manage to get evacuated on time and spent 2 months under the occupation. The Germans came and forced all people to leave their homes. It was a very snowy and cold winter. Later on, while they were trying to escape, the Germans set fire to the village. It was a beautiful, picturesque village, with brick houses and straw roofs. Do you know how straw can burn? These are his boyhood memories of war, how the straw roof of a house is burning, how they raided the railroad line 3 kilometers from the village. In 1943 he returned to Moscow. He survived the air raids over the capital. They were followed by the salvos and salutes of the victory at Kursk and Orel. This is how the time was spent until the end of the war....

Happy New Year, Viktor Vasiliyevich! Our weekly POGLED has a rubric for departing diplomats entitled: "Instead of Goodbye," which does not apply. It is also too late for the "Welcome" rubric, because you have been in our country 9 months. However, instead of "hello," what would you like to tell our readers?

[Sharapov] First of all I would like to congratulate the POGLED editorial board for successfully solving the eternal question of the relationship between space and time. If we talk about space, I think that as far as the pages of a newspaper are concerned, it is determined by the framework of interesting and benevolent questions. In regard to the question of time, your journal's questions give me the opportunity, instead of saying a belated "hello," to convey to your readers my sincere wishes for success in all their good initiatives and actions and to wish them a happy new year, in which both the Bulgarian and Soviet people place so many hopes and plans.

[Cherneva] At the threshold of the new year our minds usually turn to assessments. What, according to you, was the most important event of 1988 in the world, in the USSR, and Bulgaria?

[Sharapov] I think that in reviewing 1988, we can confidently state that it inspired many hopes related to the struggle for peace and international security. The Soviet-American INF Treaty and the beginning of its practical implementation are the events of the year that have great consequences. They eloquently demonstrate that nuclear disarmament is not the result of abstract wishes, but a reality.

Many people in the West described the proposals that Mikhail Gorbachev submitted in his statements at the 43d UN General Assembly Session as a new year's gift to the world public. We will not discuss questions of terminology here, despite the fact that, in my opinion, it would be more appropriate instead of talking about "gifts," to talk about profound understanding of universal human interests, stemming from the new political thinking, which is the guideline for all foreign policy activities of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries. The Soviet initiative and the remarkable unilateral steps toward the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe and Asia , above all, actually established a totally new political context for the discussion of questions related to disarmament, the settlement of regional conflicts, the solution of problems connected with the foreign debts of developing countries, and the establishment of an ecological security system.

As for the most important event in the domestic life of the Soviet Union in 1988, this certainly is the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Its decisions provide answers to the most crucial problem of our development—how to make the revolutionary restructuring process irreversible and what else to do in the political sector in order to achieve this goal. There is even more: The conference set an example of deep involvement, of free and self-critical discussion, based on principle, of the problems facing the country. The conference demonstrated that great strength lies in the expression of different opinions and thoughts, in the confrontation of alternative solutions.

In regard to Bulgaria, I think that the the BCP national conference and the December plenum of the BCP Central Committee were the main events of 1988. They discussed the tasks of practically applying the strategy of restructuring in Bulgarian society and demonstrated that we can and should renounce everything that has not been confirmed by practical experience and search for a solution to the most important socioeconomic issues.

[Cherneva] It is said that politics is the art of the possible. Which things that were possible were accomplished last year, and what remained "impossible"?

[Sharapov] The year 1988 was a year of crucial turning points in many respects. The Soviet-American INF Treaty made it possible to destroy the first series of nuclear missiles. The Geneva agreements on settling the situation in Afghanistan were signed. They mapped out methods for the solution of other regional conflicts as well. Iran and Iraq ceased fire in a conflict that had lasted 8 years. The opportunities for cooling down the hotbeds of tension in South Africa, Central America, and Asia increased considerably.

At the same time, not all opportunities of the treaty on the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons were used. Washington's unwillingness to place a permanent ban on the export of nuclear arms represented the main obstacle to this. We all had reason to hope that a universal convention on banning and eliminating chemical weapons would be signed in 1988.

Regardless of the fact that, according to the Geneva agreements, the Soviet Union and Afghanistan are strictly fulfilling their obligations, blood is still being shed on Afghan soil, and armed intervention from the outside has not ceased.

In other words, the negative influence and stagnation inherited from the numerous contradictions and conflicts of the past continues to be in effect. The process of transition from confrontation to dialogue and cooperation cannot yet be called irreversible.

[Cherneva] How would you describe diplomacy as an art? In your view, what are the most remarkable "landmarks" between Moscow and Washington? What is your forecast regarding the development of relations between the USSR and the United States under the George Bush administration?

[Sharapov] I could certainly say that as an art, diplomacy is very close to politics. In diplomacy, too, one should not only know one's own goals, but should also be aware of the possibility of achieving these goals.

Talking about "landmarks," I would point out Geneva and Reykjavik, Washington and Moscow. This is where, during the Soviet-American summit meetings, it was acknowledged that there could be no winners in a nuclear war, and that such a war should not be started at all. The negotiations in Washington and Moscow further intensified the political dialogue between the USSR and the United States and established constructive foundations so that this dialogue may become traditional and proceed in a normal and healthy atmosphere.

As for the question of political forecasts, we know that this is a very unrewarding matter. I cannot fail to stress at the same time, that by starting serious negotiations over the last years, the USSR and the United States have accumulated tremendous experience. The opportunities of improving the general atmosphere of Soviet-American relations have increased. In his UN speech, Mikhail Gorbachev stated that in the Soviet Union the future U.S. administration headed by George Bush will find a partner ready to pursue the dialogue in a spirit of realism, sincerity, and goodwill, without long interruptions and setbacks.

[Cherneva] While at the UN, Mikhail Gorbachev once more urged people to renounce the arms race and to demilitarize their thoughts on precisely the same day the earthquake in Armenia struck. In comparing these two events, we became strongly aware of how good it would be if misfortunes could subside, the guns could be silent, and if only the muses would speak. . .

[Sharapov] This is true, indeed. The tragedy in Armenia evoked an unusually powerful wave of human compassion and sympathy from all over the world. I would even say that our country had never before felt such warm sympathy or been given so much material and moral support by foreign states, political parties and movements, representatives of business circles, religious communities, and millions of ordinary citizens. I think that these processes are not only the result of people's humanitarianism and compassion, but also a result of the changes in their attitudes toward the Soviet Union and the socialist countries under the influence of our constructive and peace-loving policy, expressing the new thinking. People are increasingly aware of the fact that we are living in a multifaceted, but integrated and mutually dependent world. This in turn requires that world politics be determined by the priorities of universal human values.

I would like to take advantage of this opportunity, and through your journal, once more extend our cordial gratitude to our Bulgarian friends, who shared the sorrow of Armenia and rendered assistance to us in the difficult hours, according us both moral and material support.

[Cherneva] People also say that foreign policy begins at home. The whole world devotes unabating attention to restructuring in the Soviet Union. Can you describe the experience which made the Soviet people wiser in solving their economic, social, and national problems?

[Sharapov] Restructuring became an inseparable part of the country's life, of every Soviet citizen's life. Today we can already assess the first results of restructuring. In the economic sector the attitude toward the people's basic necessities and the needs of daily life has thoroughly changed. The large-scale programs on housing, health care, education, consumer goods production, and improving services to the population are specially aimed at this goal today. Considerable financial resources are being allocated for the development of villages. Scientific institutions and enterprises working in the defense sector have also joined the production of consumer goods that are in demand.

The transition to full economic cost accounting and the development of various contractual forms and relations based on leasehold interests stimulate the people's interest in the final results of their work, since the their wages are based on these results. All this encourages the workers, peasants, employees, and scientists to abandon their passive attitudes, and it stimulates their interest in the final results of their work.

Restructuring has enriched our experience in relations among nationalities within our country. Once more we became aware of the fact that numerous problems have accumulated in this sector. It would be wrong to assume that they are the result of restructuring. Democratization and glasnost only brought them to light. The dark sides of relations among nationalities were accumulated over decades. They were neglected or concealed for a long time. As you know, a plenum of the CPSU Central

Committee is in the process of preparation, which will map out new approaches in connection with solving the complicated problems of relations among nationalities.

However, the most important fact in my opinion is that the entire intellectual atmosphere in Soviet society has changed. People are aware of their responsibility for the fate of the country and socialism, and are getting down to work.

[Cherneva] Viktor Vasiliyevich, before you departed to participate as a delegate in the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference you confessed that the voters of Orlovsk Oblast had voted for you in your absence, on the condition that you should work with all your efforts for Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, which we all cherish. Are you justifying this confidence? Can you tell us which new elements you can detect in the practical experience and the general trends of our centuries-old friendship?

[Sharapov] The friendship between the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples is truly our common asset. It continues to develop like a living organism. Every new generation enriches it with new contributions. Thousands of labor collectives, which have been granted extensive economic rights and economic independence, are joining our friendship activities today. It is particularly important that the new forms of cooperation permit us to increase production necessary for both countries and to provide high quality goods, in addition to this.

We are gratified at the fact that the restructuring process is taking place in Bulgaria as well. Naturally, it has its own specific features, but in regard to its basic orientation, it coincides with restructuring in the USSR. It is an important fact that each of our countries makes its own contribution to the common treasury of socialism. Each of them in turn has the possibility of freely borrowing new strength from this common treasury, a strength that enables us to accelerate our progress.

We who are working at the Soviet Embassy are trying to do everything within our power—everything possible—to contribute to the development of new forms of production sharing, to learn from experience in restructuring, and to expand our comprehensive cooperation and joint activities in connection with solving both our domestic and international problems.

[Cherneva] We know that journalism plays a role in your biography. Can you tell us something about the bright and dark sides of this profession, from your point of view?

[Sharapov] I think that it is quite impossible to imagine contemporary civilization without journalism today. It helps the individual to become aware of his own existence as part of all mankind. Journalism is a powerful means of information today; it is an instrument for the development of man's world outlook, and hence, for the development of society. Through the press, radio, and television, journalism enters every home and accompanies nearly every individual in his daily life. We can all observe how journalism is beginning to claim its rights in the restructuring process. This also is the reason why journalism today is entrusted with special responsibilities.

As for the difficult and complicated aspects of journalism, I would like to remind you how painful it is for a journalist when material he has written with great effort remains unpublished, or becomes aware that in adopting some wrong position in his article, he has deceived himself and his readers.

[Cherneva] You seem to have passed on the legacy of journalism. We heard that your son has followed in your footsteps and is a correspondent in China.

[Sharapov] This is a fascination that can hardly be inherited. However, the fact that my son also became a journalist can perhaps be explained by the numerous attractive aspects of this profession. Nevertheless, he also recently changed over to diplomatic work. He was the first to make this step, and I followed.

[Cherneva] As a matter of fact, let us return to your biography. We just went to the end of the war. What happened later?

[Sharapov] I studied. I finished high school in 1949. This was the epoch of the triumphant Chinese revolution, and we all enthusiastically believed that if two great states such as the USSR and China were to advance along the path of socialism, that this would decide the fate of the whole world. I enrolled at the Institute of Eastern Studies.

[Cherneva] And you can read and write in Chinese?

[Sharapov] According to a proverb, learning a foreign language is like rowing a boat against the current—if you stop for a while, the current forces you back. The same happens to me with Chinese. As for my ability to write it, we had better not mention it. It is a very complicated matter, because if you add just one dash to a letter, it completely changes the meaning of the word. Nevertheless, regarding my relations with the Chinese ambassador in Sofia, we understand each other very well.

My son followed in my "Chinese" steps, although mathematics was his favorite subject. He worked as a NOVOSTI correspondent in Beijing. Later, he changed over to diplomatic work, but he always tries to convince me that he has only temporarily "become unfaithful" to journalism. My grandchild is 6 years old and goes to school already—to a Chinese school as a matter of fact. . . .

But let us speak in chronological order. After I graduated from the institute, I worked in the international department of KRASNAYA ZVEDA. In 1959 I went to China for the first time, because the periodical DRUZHBA was being issued in both Russian and Chinese. Later on, I worked for radio, and then for PRAVDA. I was sent as PRAVDA correspondent to China from 1961 to 1966. I returned to the Soviet Union at the height of the cultural revolution. I worked at the socialist countries' department until 1971. This was the time of my frequent missions to Vietnam. Following this, I went to work at the CPSU Central Committee. When they proposed that I become Yuriy Andropov's assistant at the KGB, I was first a bit shocked—what kind of a Chekist could I be! However, I worked as a "half-Chekist." Later on, I was Andropov's assistant for the short period during which he was general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. I was also fortunate enough to work 3 years with Mikhail Gorbachev. I came to Bulgaria as USSR ambassador in March 1988. This is an independent and very responsible task. In the meantime my son keeps asking: "Why did you become unfaithful to journalism?"

[Cherneva] Finally, what is your New Year's wish, dear colleague?

[Sharapov] As far as I understand the question, the wish should be addressed to journalists. For this reason, I would like briefly to express the following wish: May they loyally serve the cause of restructuring, the cause of truth.

Stoyanov Speaks at Mikhaylovgrad Plenum

AU1301192189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] A plenum of the BCP Oblast Committee was held in Mikhaylovgrad today. The work of the oblast party organization in connection with the implementation of the tasks stemming from the July Concept and from the decisions of the BCP Central Committee December plenum was discussed.

Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov participated in the plenum. He spoke on the restructuring process in oblast and municipal committees and in primary party organizations, and on enhancing their role as political vanguards of the working people, through expanding intraparty democracy and through improving ideological activities, as well as the style and methods of work.

Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov also dealt with the immediate tasks of establishing company-based organization in the economic sector, and with the fulfillment of the 1989 plan.

The plenum discussed organizational tasks as well. Trifon Pashov, former first secretary of the Mikhaylovgrad Oblast BCP Committee, was relieved of his duties because of his election to the post of minister of transportation. Atanas Konstantinov, member of the BCP Central Committee and former chairman of the Sofia Oblast People's Executive Committee, was unanimously elected first secretary of the Mikhaylovgrad BCP Oblast Committee.

The plenum elected Aleksandur Petkov as secretary of the Oblast BCP Committee.

Decree on Improving Railroad Safety Detailed

AU1201121489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Jan 89 p 6

[Report on "Decree of the Council of Ministers on Improving Traffic Safety, Discipline, and Transport Standards in Railroad Transportation"]

[Text] **Every day hundreds of thousands of Bulgarian citizens use the rail transportation services. They all want to have a safe journey and a high standard of services. Unfortunately, in recent years these requirements could not be met to some extent or another for various reasons, the chief of which was poor discipline.**

The leadership of the "Bulgarian State Railways" Economic Trust recently took serious measures to alter the present operating situation with regard to ensuring safety and improving the standard of services. The decree of the Council of Ministers of 26 December 1988, which is published in today's issue of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, deals with the problems of improving traffic safety, discipline, and transport standards in railroad transportation.

The "Bulgarian State Railways" Economic Trust is instructed to ensure **strict discipline in unconditionally observing the requirements of the special conditions** under which the collective works—**the Regulations of Service in Railroad Transportation, and the Disciplinary Statute. It is ordered that the appointment and release from duty of leaders and staff of the enterprises and divisions who are covered by the special conditions [vklyucheni v spetsialniya rezhim] should be effected by order, not on the elective principle.**

The leadership of the trust is ordered, within a 6-month deadline, to make a comprehensive assessment of the leading staff. Those leaders who do not meet the conditions applicable to the posts they occupy should be relieved according to the established procedure. Within the same period, examinations of professional competence must be carried out and a comprehensive assessment made of the operating staff, and unsuitable persons should also be relieved from their posts. Under the decree, **extended periods of notice of 6 months, in accordance with the Labor Code, are introduced** for the "Bulgarian State Railways" Economic Trust.

In order to stabilize staff directly engaged in operational duties, working in dangerous conditions, or directly concerned with traffic safety, the decree provides certain important advantages and privileges. For example, those working in especially intensive sectors are to be paid an **additional special remuneration for accident-free, impeccable work** as follows: for 4 years of continuous accident-free and impeccable service, an amount equivalent to 2 months basic salary; for 8 years service, 4 months basic salary; and for 12 years service, 6 months salary.

Workers engaged during 1989 in the following posts: traffic supervisor, locomotive engineer, fireman assistant, technical operations mechanic, and shunter, and who have signed a contact for service with the "Bulgarian State Railways" Economic Trust for at least 10 years, are to be paid a single incentive payment of 2,000 leva. From this year, the chiefs of stations who live in the station and are available for duty at any time are to be paid up to 1,000 leva annually for exercising control over safety and the traffic schedule. The precise amount of the remuneration will be related to the category of the station and will be fixed by the chairman of the trust.

The Executive Committee of the Sofia City People's Council is instructed to designate a vacant building site in Sofia for the integrated construction of dwellings for railroad workers, and the Ministry of Transportation is to do what is necessary to set up a specialized construction enterprise in Sofia to build at least 200 apartments annually. The Executive Committee of Sofia City Council is ordered **to present 100 dwellings to the Bulgarian State Railways for this purpose.**

The decree orders **the Executive Committees of Pernik, Pleven, Gorna Oryakhovitsa, Ruse, Varna, Burgas, Stara Zagora, and Plovdiv Municipal People's Councils to hand over 50 apartments each for this purpose this year,** in addition to those being built on an economic basis, to partially compensate for the nonfulfillment of the Council of Ministers' Decree of 1980 concerning further developing and increasing the efficiency of railroad transportation.

The Council of Ministers' decree also provides numerous measures for improving the work in training the cadres in railroad transportation. The Ministry of Transportation, the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education, and the Ministry of National Defense **are ordered, starting from the 1989-90 academic year, to organize within the system of the "Bulgarian State Railways" Economic Trust, secondary railway schools for noncommissioned officers in Gorna Oryakhovitsa, Ruse, and Karlovo. These ministries are also ordered to organize joint schools for transportation and road construction in Kurdzhali and the village of Vinogradets, Plovdiv Oblast,** for the needs of the "Bulgarian State Railways" Economic Trust and the Main Administration for Roads.

Under the decree, **the "Bulgarian State Railways" Economic Trust is released from the sanctions provided to limit members of the work force with no residence in Sofia.** The decree substantially expands the numbers of workers and specialists in the trust who will receive additional labor remunerations for unfavorable and other specific labor conditions. There are also a large number of concessions that certain workers will receive when they retire. For example, **in the regulations on labor classification for pensions, the posts of traffic supervisor, shunter, pointsman, and track maintenance worker in the "Bulgarian State Railways" Economic Trust are added to the categories of workers who will be able to retire upon their 55th birthday instead of their 60th birthday.** In addition, in determining the amount of pension for those with 5 years of service or more in posts under special conditions in the "Bulgarian State Railways" Economic Trust, a portion of the additional remuneration for their positions will also be taken into account.

Jan Palach Death Anniversary Protests Continue

Police Disperse Demonstrators

AU1701171889 Paris AFP in English
1713 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Prague, Jan 17 (AFP)—Riot police used water cannon and truncheons to disperse thousands of demonstrators who gathered Tuesday for the third day to commemorate the protest suicide of a student 20 years ago.

Police urged the crowd over a public address system to disperse but the call went unheeded.

Jets of water, police charges and threats to use tear gas on the protestors in Prague's central Wenceslas Square were met by catcalls and whistles.

Police cordoned off most streets leading to the square, in fact a long avenue, and the situation was tense. [passage omitted]

Activities 'Like 20 Years Ago'

LD1801105889 Prague CTK in English
0915 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 18 (CTK)—Like 20 years ago, anti-state elements in Czechoslovakia have been trying to stir up tension and violate the fulfilment of the tasks of restructuring, the daily RUDE PRAVO stressed in today's commentary on the events in the centre of Prague in the past few days.

Provocative actions organized for the cameras of Western TV corporations prevented thousands of working people from returning home from their work in time, the daily stressed, and added: "The aim was clear—to supply slanderers with anti-socialist ammunition." They received it but life continues and the capital lives in its rhythm. Nevertheless the bourgeois press has again something to write about, to fabricate and distort information, RUDE PRAVO stressed.

The Austrian daily KURIER wrote on Monday that rather than live in Prague, it is better to be dead, the paper said, adding that the hatred of the authors only proves what they strive for.

Millions of Czechoslovak citizens are proud of the history of the country's capital. The blusterers who are manipulated by directors from far beyond Czechoslovakia's borders and strive to violate peace and order, cannot change anything on this fact, the daily underlined.

Trade Unions Condemn Protests

LD1801105189 Prague CTK in English
0927 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 18 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions unanimously condemned at its session here yesterday the provocative actions organized by irresponsible elements in Prague in the past few days.

The aim of the actions was to violate the process of restructuring and democratization of Czechoslovakia's society. In harmony with the opinions and stands of working teams, the presidium urged security bodies to take resolute measures to restore peace and order in the capital on the basis of valid laws.

Workers Oppose Demonstrations

LD1701214289 Prague CTK in English
2048 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 17 (CTK)—Several groups of anti-socialist elements again attempted to disrupt public order and traffic in Prague's Wenceslas Square this evening.

The law enforcement units of the public security force took action against the initiators of the provocation and by necessary measures ensured calm and order in the city's centre.

The provocations are condemned by the wide Czechoslovak public. A resolute protest was expressed by workers of the Smichov plant of the CKD Tatra enterprise in a petition to the Central Council of Trade Unions. They said that the actions of the groups orientated against society were in stark conflict with the daily endeavour of the workers in Czechoslovak factories and demanded that most stringent measures be taken against participants in these actions, in the spirit of the Klement Gottwald slogan "We will not permit subversion against the Republic".

Members of a workteam at the Svit Gottwaldov enterprise called for "calm, not disruption attempted by anti-socialist elements in Prague several times". They supported "resolute restoration of law and order".

The provocative actions were also condemned by other workteams from Prague and other places in Czechoslovakia.

Shultz Speech Attacks CSSR Over Protests

LD1701201989 Prague Televison Service in Czech
1830 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Today's main event in Vienna, the CSCE conference, has attracted the attention of the whole world. [passage omitted]

The speech by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was awaited with interest. Many diplomats and journalists who were present well remembered his speech 2 years ago at the opening of the Vienna follow-up meeting. The U.S. state secretary's speech, with its sharp tone, sounded very different from all the other speeches by his 34 counterparts.

George Shultz said today that the Vienna meeting's documents mean a hopeful period for Europe. The danger of war is reduced by disarmament and by arms control. Respect for human rights has increased. He voiced confidence that the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe will be succesful. In his words, the view that security cannot be guaranteed by military measures finds more and more supporters.

In his speech Shultz attacked Czechoslovakia in connection with the thwarting of the attempts to demonstrate in Prague. In the spirit of a differentiated approach to the socialist countries, he claimed that in some of them the situation has been clarified, but that others allegedly still have not been penetrated by the light of openness.

Shultz 'Distorted Facts'

LD1801105789 Prague CTK in English
0937 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 18 (CTK)—Secretary of State George Shultz "devoted relatively much time to human rights in his 20-minute speech, which is a time limit for addresses of ministers, though the U.S. delegation has the least right to act as an advocate of human rights", RUDE PRAVO said today, commenting on George Shultz's address at a closing session of the Vienna follow-up meeting.

"George Shultz did not forget to differentiate socialist countries according to the ideas of the U.S. Administration. They, however, contrary to the United States, contributed to a greater extent than the U.S. delegation, to the agreement on the final document", the daily stressed.

The U.S. representative "accused Czechoslovakia of violating the commitments which the Czechoslovak Government solemnly gave, by taking actions against organisers of provocative actions in the past few days in Prague in Wenceslas Square".

"The U.S. secretary of state thus apparently distorted facts by creating the impression as if any of the participants in the Vienna meeting accepted a pledge to give up the right to defend its own laws against trespassers. Shultz's speech can be justifiably regarded as an attempt to cast doubts on the principles of the Final Act of the conference on European security and cooperation in Helsinki on non-interference into the internal affairs of other states", the daily stressed.

Spokesman Welcomes CSCE Final Document

LD1601180389 Prague CTK in English
1319 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 16 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government welcomes the agreement on a definitive text of the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, head of the Press Department of the Czechoslovak Government Presidium office Miroslav Pavel said here Monday.

Czechoslovakia attaches special significance especially to the talks on conventional disarmament to be attended by the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states. Also important will be other meetings on human rights, economic cooperation, the environment, exchange of information, cultural heritage, security and cooperation in the Mediterranean and a peaceful solution of conflicts.

Czechoslovakia has always been one of those countries striving for an active and comprehensive attitude towards the issues of cooperation in the framework of the Helsinki process. That is why the country regards the possibilities of developing the European dialogue created by the Vienna meeting as extremely precious. Czechoslovakia is ready to use and implement them in cooperation with other Helsinki Final Act signatories, Miroslav Pavel said.

Johanes Returns From Paris Chemical Arms Talks

AU1201194489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
11 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Summary] Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, yesterday [10 January] returned from Paris, where, as head of the Czechoslovak delegation, he attended the international conference of states-signatories of the 1925 Geneva protocol on banning the use of asphyxiating, poisonous, or similar gases and bacteriological methods of warfare.

Presidium Views Jakes' Cuba, Nicaragua Visits

AU1701150789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
14 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "On the Results of Comrade M. Jakes' Visit to Cuba and Nicaragua"]

[Text] Prague—The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed the course and results of the official friendly visit paid by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, to Cuba on 1-5 January 1989, in connection with his participation in the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

It appraised the results of his talks with Fidel Castro and other leading representatives of the Communist Party of Cuba from the viewpoint of consolidating mutual relations, and spoke in favor of further developing cooperation between the CSSR and the Republic of Cuba in the economic, scientific, cultural, and other spheres. It also appraised the concurrence of views on the basic issues of international political development.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium then discussed the course and results of the official friendly visit paid by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, to the Republic of Nicaragua.

It expressed satisfaction with the current development of Czechoslovak-Nicaraguan relations and appraised the bilateral interest in further expanding economic cooperation between the two countries. It instructed the Communists in the CSSR Government to search for and make use of effective new forms aimed at achieving this. The Presidium again expressed the CPCZ's and CSSR's full support for the efforts undertaken by the Sandinist National Liberation Front and the Nicaraguan Government and people to succeed in defending the country's independence and free development.

Jakes Visits Viewed

AU1301082389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jan 89 p 7

[Bohuslav Borovicka and Miloslav Vitek commentary in the "We Comment" column: "Mission of Friendship; by Our Special Correspondents"]

[Text] The CPCZ's relations with the fraternal parties in socialist and other friendly countries are based on lasting working contacts on many levels. They involve systematic cooperation and an exchange of views, knowledge, and experience which enriches both sides. An irreplaceable role within the system of these contacts is played by the meetings of top party representatives. These not only serve to evaluate the work that has been accomplished, but they are, above all, a source of mutual inspiration for further cooperation.

This was also the case during the latest official friendly visit that Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, paid to Cuba and Nicaragua. In the case of Cuba, the trip, which was undertaken at the invitation of the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] and the Sandinist National Liberation Front, was yet another visit on this level since 1973. As for Nicaragua, this was Central Committee General Secretary Jakes' first visit to the country; moreover, he was the first top party representative of a European socialist country to travel there.

It is said that it is better to see something once than to hear it a hundred times. During his stay in Cuba, Comrade Jakes visited, among other things, several industrial plants and scientific-research enterprises, and he spoke with their staff and also to a number of prominent party representatives. Moreover, he took part in certain events organized within the framework of the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. Comrade Jakes' meetings with F. Castro, the top Cuban representative, naturally held a special place in the program of his visit.

Significant social processes are currently taking place in both Czechoslovakia and Cuba. While many aspects of these processes differ or diverge, their final aim is the same: to improve the economic and social mechanism, and to make better use of all the opportunities and advantages of socialism for the benefit of the working man. These processes cannot leave out any sphere of economic or social life—and this includes relations between our two countries. We must jointly search for ways to make them more effective and to achieve real mutual advantages. The main thing is not to waste any of the material and intellectual means and forces which each side has invested in this cooperation, but to make prudent use of them instead. One of the solutions here is the transition to new and qualitatively higher forms of cooperation in the economic sphere, such as, for instance, production cooperation and specialization.

These and many other issues were on the agenda of Comrade M. Jakes' talks with Comrade F. Castro and other Cuban figures.

From the first moment to the last, the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary's stay in Nicaragua was filled with events. One could scarcely separate or distinguish between the parts devoted to work and the "official" parts. Comrades Milos Jakes and Daniel Ortega visited a number of economic installations and made use of the 2 days for negotiations and talks.

Central Committee General Secretary Jakes was provided with an opportunity to convince himself of the Nicaraguan people's efforts to alleviate the consequences of the undeclared war waged against their country by the United States through counterrevolutionary groups of mercenaries. The facts about the country's sacrifices and about the economic losses it has suffered are generally known, but only after one has seen what lies behind the figures can one grasp the depth of the tragedy experienced by the country. One cannot but admire the people—to quote from M. Jakes' remark in the guest book at the Carlos Fonseca Monument—who won their independence in battle and who are now resolutely defending it.

The visit of Central Committee General Secretary Jakes to the two Latin American countries, which are linked with us by so many ties, has confirmed anew that friendship between nations knows no borders or distances. This is all the more true when it is applied to nations which are drawn close to each other by their common longings, and which are striving, hand in hand, to turn these longings into reality.

Hungary's Janos Berecz Begins Visit 13 Jan

Greeted by Janak

LD1301205789 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Janos Berecz, Politburo member and MSZMP secretary, arrived in Czechoslovakia today for a working visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. Following his arrival in Bratislava, he was received by Comrade Ignac Janak.

Meets With Fojtik

LD1401175889 Prague CTK in English 1704 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] Bratislava Jan 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Fojtik and Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz, currently on a working visit to Czechoslovakia, met here today.

They exchanged information on the realization of the conclusions of the 17th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the national conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and experiences from the two parties' ideological work.

Departs for Home 15 Jan

LD1501172489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, who is in Czechoslovakia for a working visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee, was received today in Bratislava by Stefan Bartak, mayor of the city. He briefed his guest on the history of Bratislava and its socialist present.

After touring a permanent exhibition of art and visiting a Hungarian regional theater and the Jokai Museum in Komarno, Janos Berez left for Hungary.

FRG Party Official Mischnick Continues Visit

Holds Talks With Jakes

LD1001224289 Prague CTK in English 1749 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 10 (CTK)—Chairman of the West German Free Democratic Party (FDP) group in the Bundestag Wolfgang Mischnick was received here today by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes.

Wolfgang Mischnick spoke positively of the achieved level of bilateral relations and stressed that direct relations between Czechoslovak enterprises and small and medium firms in the FRG are the most suitable sphere for applying higher forms of economic cooperation, including cooperation on third markets.

Milos Jakes noted the expanding cooperation in many spheres but voiced discontent with the results of using higher forms of economic cooperation. He informed Wolfgang Mischnick about Czechoslovakia's attitudes towards the development of all-European cooperation which, he said, must be freed of suspicions and mistrust.

Wolfgang Mischnick is visiting Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

Received by Johanes

LD1101211489 Prague CTK in English 1917 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 11 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes received here Wednesday [11 January] visiting Chairman of the FDP parliamentary group in the West German Bundestag Wolfgang Mischnick, who arrived in Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

They appreciated the positive development of bilateral relations between the two neighbouring countries as significant contribution to the strengthening of European security and cooperation.

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Gives Prague News Conference

AU1701152589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jan 89 p 2

["kov"-signed report on the 11 January news conference by Wolfgang Mischnik, floor leader of the FDP Bundestag group: "Meeting the Press" in Prague]

[Text] During our talks with Central Committee General Secretary Jakes, with Premier Adamec, and parliamentary chairman Indra, and with other figures, we discussed our bilateral relations and international politics in a frank and sincere atmosphere. This was stated by W. Mischnick at the beginning of his meeting with the press on Wednesday [11 January].

At the same time, he appraised the fact that, since his last visit to the CSSR more than 10 years ago, relations between the two states have changed for the better. At that time the main topic was the past (his visit took place 5 years after the signing of the document on mutual relations), whereas now our main concern is for the future; at that time, NATO's "double counterarmament" loomed on the horizon, while today the missile issue has already been resolved; while ecology was hardly on the agenda at that time, today it is a primary topic; and since that time, progress has been achieved in family reunification, etc.

He conceded that, alongside a concurrence of views, for instance on the need to ban chemical weapons, his views diverged from those of his partners on issues such as the establishment of nuclear- and chemical-weapons-free zones. He welcomed the unilateral Soviet step to reduce the number of soldiers by 500,000 and and spoke in favor of eliminating all asymmetry between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and of arranging armed forces in a way which would make an attack impossible and make defense primary.

Asked about the Czechoslovak initiative to set up a zone of confidence and cooperation on the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, he said that his party, the Free Democrats, welcome everything which makes possible the intensification of relations between states. As for the proposal to convene the premiers of surrounding countries for negotiations on ecology in Prague, he declared that he cannot speak for the Bonn government, but that this is a very good idea which he will also support at home. At the same time, he pointed out the need to conduct trilateral negotiations (between the GDR, FRG, and CSSR) on the water quality of the Labe. He said that economic cooperation is one of the pillars of international relations, and cited the collaboration between the West German Hoechst and BASF chemical works and the Spolana enterprise in Neratovice, which he had visited, as an example of good cooperation.

He spoke in favor of reciprocity in issuing visas at the borders, stating that the corresponding FRG efforts are meeting with a lack of understanding on the part of certain EEC partners, particularly France, which has considerable objections to issuing border visas to Czechoslovak citizens. Asked by an FRG journalist about the implementation of human and civil rights in the CSSR, he replied that, as a convinced liberal, he knows of no country where all these rights have already been wholly and totally asserted.

Concludes Visit 12 Jan

LD1201131489 Prague CTK in English
1224 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 12 (CTK)—Chairman of the parliamentary group of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) in the Bundestag Wolfgang Mischnick, who visited Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation, left here today for home.

He was seen off at Ruzyne Airport by chairman of the committee Bohuslav Kucera. Also present was West German Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Hermann Huber.

USSR's Yevgeniy Silin Meets With Officials

AU1201100189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
5 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Discussing Security in Europe"]

[Text] Prague—Yevgeniy Silin, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, who is currently visiting the CSSR at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation, was received by Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak committee, in Prague on Wednesday [4 January]. They assessed certain possibilities of intensifying mutual cooperation and exchanged the experience acquired by the two committees in their work. At the same time they discussed the further development of activities carried out by the movement for European security and cooperation.

On the same day the Soviet guest was received by Rudolf Rohlicek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front. They briefed each other on the application of restructuring in the activities of social organizations in their two countries.

The Soviet representative was also received by Jan Bouchal, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department.

Marek Venuta, head of the CPCZ Central Committee's International Affairs Department, also met the Soviet official on Wednesday [4 January].

On the same day, Yevgeniy Silin was also received by Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs. Their talk dealt with issues connected with the further development of all-European cooperation. In this context Jaromir Johanes briefed Yevgeniy Silin on the process of realizing the Czechoslovak initiative on the establishment of a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the border between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, which is part of the all-European process and our specific contribution to the intensification of security and cooperation on the European Continent.

Departs After Talks

AU1201095689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
6 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Yevgeniy Silin, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, who had been visiting Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation, departed for home on Thursday [5 January].

USSR 'Customs War' Against East Bloc Denied

AU1201121389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Jan 89 p 7

[Vladimir Jancura Moscow dispatch in the "On the Margin" column: "Customs War Not On the Agenda"]

[Excerpts] Allegedly, the first flashes of a real customs war can be noted on the borders of the socialist states. On top of that, the Draconian customs measures currently adopted by these states are allegedly heralding secret or overt campaigns which are generally called a trade war.

The most surprising thing about such judgements and forecasts—voiced, by the way, on New Year's Day—is that they were carried by a certain Soviet newspaper, which did not even comment on them. What is to be said following this about the insinuations made in the bourgeois press of the Soviet Union? [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 7 January carries on page 5 a "Correction," stating that the text should read: "What is to be said after this about the insinuations made by the bourgeois press about the 'retaliatory measures' of the Soviet Union?"]

I was therefore all the more curious about the stand maintained by a representative of the USSR's Main Customs Administration. At his news conference in Moscow yesterday [6 January], Vitaliy Boyarov declared, among other things:

In view of our understanding of relations with friendly countries, there can be no question of any retaliatory measures whatsoever. In our case the term "customs war" is both absurd and totally inappropriate—in fact, even the capitalist world uses it only for abnormal phenomena accompanying foreign trade turnover, but not for phenomena outside trade relations.

Our government decree, which temporarily bans tourist exports of certain kinds of consumer goods from the USSR, has a completely different background. Like our socialist partners, we want these measures to help stabilize the domestic market. [passage omitted]

At the same time, Soviet customs officials realize that such measures will not save our national economy. We have made it quite clear to those ministries in our industrial sectors which had called the most for the adoption of new customs measures, V. Boyarov stressed, that they must not succumb to the illusion that these measures will close all gaps in the production of consumer goods; we must continue to increase this production. After all, what are the 500,000 television sets taken out of the country by tourists compared with the 7.5 million sets produced in the USSR last year? But this, too, is not much—just look at the empty shelves in Soviet shops.

A customs war, they say... the true friends of the Soviet Union have received the Soviet Government decree with full understanding. We ourselves have similar problems, and we must also resolve them by adopting similar, not always popular, measures—until our economies have undergone a radical restructuring and our domestic price levels balance out; until our national currencies have become convertible, and our markets satisfied.

We are striving to achieve this. We will live to see this.

National Airline Purchases Soviet Tu-154M's

AU1201202289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Tu-154 in CSA Colors"]

[Excerpt] Prague—A new aircraft, already the third one of this model in the colors of the Czechoslovak Airlines (CSA), was baptized "Teplice" in Prague-Ruzyne yesterday [10 January]. This month another one will be added, and by the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan the CSA will have seven Tu-154M aircraft. They are meant for short and medium routes and are gradually replacing the old Tu-134A aircraft. The Soviet manufacturer delivered the first Tu-154M machine in March 1988. [passage omitted]

Libyan Envoy on U.S. Chemical Plant Charges

AU1001153289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Dec 88 p 7

[Jiri Roskot report: "Opportunity for International Inspection Will Be Provided; News Conference on U.S. Accusations Against Libya"]

[Text] **Prague—The new, unsubstantiated U.S. accusations against Libya—this time because a plant near Tripoli is allegedly producing chemical weapons—are meant to establish a pretext for yet another act of aggression of the type that occurred in April 1986. This was stated by (Ambassador) Mohammad Musbah Khalifa, leading secretary of the People's Bureau of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah in the CSSR.**

At the news conference, which was also attended by Noureddin Boujallabi, ambassador of the Republic of Tunisia, the Libyan representative stressed that the plant in question is exclusively intended to produce medical drugs. **On the day when the plant begins operations, all ambassadors accredited in Tripoli, and also the press, will be invited to convince themselves of this,** he said.

Libya was falsely accused of an act of terrorism in West Berlin as far back as 1986, when a bomb exploded in a night club there. But Libya had nothing to do with that act. The U.S. aggression at that time resulted in the loss of many human lives, with the victims including women, children, and old people.

The reason for the aggressive U.S. stand is not only our country's support for the national liberation struggle of all nations, but also Libya's opposition to U.S. endeavors to gain control over a part of the Arab world, and also to a capitulationist solution of the Middle East crisis, Mohammad Musbah Khalifa stated. The unchanged U.S. course, he went on to say, is also expressed in the prolonged validity of economic U.S. sanctions against Libya (ordered by President Reagan on Wednesday [28 December]. The sanctions were adopted in January 1986, and include the freezing of Libyan assets in the United States and a ban on practically all trade between the two states—Roskot note).

Tourism Cooperation Accord Signed With Poland
AU1201095389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
6 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Ladislav Vodrazka, first CSSR deputy minister of foreign trade, and Andrzej Glowacki, PPR deputy minister of domestic trade, signed a Czechoslovak-Polish agreement on cooperation in tourism for the years 1989-90 in Prague on Thursday [5 January].

Kunovjanek Discusses Party Program Preparations
AU1201095189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
4 Jan 89 p 1

[Interview with Vladimir Kunovjanek, CPCZ Central Committee member, director of the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Commission for Party Program Preparation, by Marie Boudova: "Preparing the Party Program"; date, place not given]

[Text] As we have already reported, part of our preparations for the 18th congress will be to work out the principles of the CPCZ program. The first session of the CPCZ Central Committee Commission for Party Program Preparation, chaired by its chairman, Comrade Milos Jakes, was held on Thursday, 15 December 1988. Comrade Vladimir Kunovjanek, CPCZ Central Committee member and director of the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, was charged with the duties of commission secretary. We asked him about some aspects of the specific elaboration of the principles of our party program.

[Boudova] Why has the party decided to formulate this document?

[Kunovjanek] This question was answered by Comrade Milos Jakes at the session of the Commission for Program Preparation. He stressed that, apart from considering short-range and operational solutions, the party must also think about strategic and long-range goals which follow from its class positions and from its status in society.

[Boudova] Has the CPCZ already had such a program in the past?

[Kunovjanek] Of course, we can find long-term programmatic documents in the party's history—such as the resolutions of the fifth or ninth congresses (i.e., the general line of building socialism), or the Action Program of 1968, although this program was formulated under very specific political conditions. But essentially, these documents were not as programmatic as we would like to make the principles that we want to accept at the 18th congress, and which should be given their final shape at the 19th CPCZ Congress. The party has made several attempts to work out a program in the true sense of the word, particularly during the thirties, but it never succeeded in giving this document a definite form, particularly in view of political developments.

[Boudova] We are living in most dynamic times. A number of new ideas have appeared, the principles of democratization and of a new economic mechanism are being asserted, the theoretical side of many issues is unclear, and these are being discussed. Is such a period suitable for elaborating the program?

[Kunovjanek] Views on this can obviously vary. However, experience teaches us that the times of fermenting ideas and great changes in the political and economic sphere are really suitable for processing the program. In fact, in the course of its compilation, we will encounter a number of issues which we will have to clarify and ponder; this particularly applies to certain target and long-term problems, but also to forms and methods of work which the party will be using in guiding society in the coming decades. We must get a clear idea of what we want to achieve, but also of the, at least approximate, deadlines within which we want to achieve it, and of the methods which we wish to use for this.

[Boudova] Is there a methodology for elaborating such programmatic documents?

[Kunovjanek] In compiling the program, we will rely primarily on Lenin's ideological and practical legacy. It is necessary to revert to the historical experience acquired in particular by the Russian social democrats in preparing their program during the post-revolutionary period, but obviously also to that acquired prior to the 27th CPSU Congress, when the new version of the CPSU program was being prepared. We, too, want our future program to be scientific, businesslike, action-oriented, realistic, and of a mobilizing nature in the spirit of Lenin's legacy. It should stimulate the best forces of our people to develop the goals of our whole society, but also help every single one of us to find his or her personal, peripheral goals in it.

[Boudova] Will we also use the experience of other parties in working out the program?

[Kunovjanek] Of course we will. However, there will be no question of copying them. In this connection we are far more interested in the issues dealt with during the work on their program, and in the problems on which they are focusing their attention. However, we must provide our own answer to such topical questions, according to our own conditions, because any mechanical "cribbing" would be most shortsighted.

[Boudova] What basic ideas should the program that is under preparation contain?

[Kunovjanek] On the basis of the implementation of this program, which should guide us in the nineties and in the first decades of the next century, Czechoslovakia should enjoy a secure, dynamic political, economic, social, and cultural type of development. Our republic should be a prospering state with a well-qualified management and high living standards for the population. We will strive to intensify our economy further; at the same time, we should proceed from the idea that such trends and processes cannot be ensured without a striking increase in the demands on labor productivity, demands for the more effective use of fixed assets, for the perfect organization of production, and for every individual's creative approaches to the solution of problems and to his own work performance. For states such as the CSSR, the practical application of the latest scientific and technical knowledge is of quite exceptional significance.

It is understandable that the program will also be internationally significant. It should reflect everything that we expect our cooperation with other socialist states to yield in the next few decades, the role we want to play in the international division of labor, and also the extent to which we, as a state situated in the heart of Europe, intend to develop our economic, political, and cultural relations with the capitalist countries, and with those states which are only now overcoming their economic backwardness.

[Boudova] Is the party prepared for this work on the program? Do we know about the current situation of society?

[Kunovjanek] Basically, the conclusions drawn at the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session and the sessions which followed it enable us to start preparing the program. Certain studies which were recently worked out, above all by the party's establishments for scientific theory, are also a valuable source of knowledge. The public discussions involving an increasing number of our citizens, as well as the views and suggestions published by our press, are also helping to acquaint us with the actual situation in the political, ideological, economic, and social spheres.

[Boudova] How will the program preparation be carried out?

[Kubnovjanek] The Commission for Program Preparation has recommended dividing the work on the program into two stages. The first includes the period up to May 1990, when the 18th party congress which is to approve the principles of the program will convene. Basically, we would be following these principles up to the 19th CPCZ Congress, i.e. approximately up to the middle of the nineties. The 5-year period between the 18th and the 19th CPCZ Congresses would be devoted to preparing the final version of the program. By dividing the preparatory work into two stages, we will be able to fulfill the two basic demands that we have set for ourselves in this respect: to be able to follow the principles of the program as soon as possible, while at the same time not rushing its preparation. Should social practices show that some of the theses approved by the 18th CPCZ Congress do not conform to the changes at home or abroad, the 19th party congress would strike them from the final version of the program. On the other hand, should we see after the 18th congress that the theses lack something, there will be time enough to enrich the program. Essentially, it will be an open document; and I believe that in our dynamic times this offers the only possibility of realistically elaborating it.

The Commission for Program Preparation has approved the establishment of four working teams, each headed by a CPCZ Central Committee secretary responsible for the appropriate sector. These teams will prepare drafts of the political, economic, social, and international parts of the program theses. In their work they will rely on both the knowledge and the experience acquired by our party agencies, and on the results of activities carried out by the social sciences institutes. The heads of the teams will decide what they will need for their activity, what other studies or materials have to be elaborated, etc. Toward the end of March, they will present their drafts of program theses for editing, which will be carried out by the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, as the party's basic theoretical workplace. We will have roughly 2 months for editorial work on the theses; then the edited comprehensive draft of the theses will be submitted to the CPCZ Central Committee's commission for the elaboration of the party program, which will adopt a stand on both its "own" passages and on the edited draft theses as a whole. In the fall, the CPCZ Central Committee's Commission for Party Program Preparation will assess the new draft of the theses and submit it to the CPCZ Central Committee session, which should decide whether it can be submitted for discussion within the party or for national discussion.

[Boudova] Will this course leave enough time for a discussion?

[Kunovjanek] Under these conditions the discussion could start in autumn 1989 or at the beginning of 1990; and it should be concluded by the end of March. Primary party organizations can voice their views on the draft theses at their annual member meetings in February or

March 1990, and individuals could convey their suggestions to the district, regional, and central party agencies, or else express their views on the theses in the press or on radio or television. We know from experience that a 2-month discussion within the party or by the general public is ample for this purpose, because as a rule, those who want to voice their opinions do so soon after the material has been published.

[Boudova] Will the program preparations not be pressed for time?

[Kunovjanek] In preparing such political documents one is always threatened by two extremes: Either there is not enough time for the preparation, or else work is dragged out and is often dropped because of other topical tasks which crop up in the meantime. We want to avoid unnecessary haste, but also constant postponements. We also naturally encounter radical views, such as the notion that in order to be able to work out the program, this or that team must first scientifically elaborate, for instance, the period of the party's Bolshevization; another team must reveal shortcomings in the legal code of the fifties; yet another team must analyze in detail why the various economic reforms failed, etc. All this is undoubtedly necessary, and we do not want to belittle it, but from the viewpoint of preparing such a comprehensive document as the party program, this is not the most important thing. If the teams need this knowledge, they will certainly make sure they get it, to the extent needed to provide them with a comprehensive restrospective. However, this should not prevent them from working on the main task, which at this stage is to prepare the basic theses. It is feasible for our top-level party aktiv to prepare these theses within 10-12 months.

[Boudova] Can RUDE PRAVO or other communications media help you to accomplish your task in some way?

[Kunovjanek] Actually, even today both RUDE PRAVO and other communications media are providing valuable stimuli for the preparation of the party program, particularly through their everyday cooperation with the readers. Perhaps it would be of some benefit if your paper were to publish under its traditional discussion rubric readers' suggestions which could assist the preparation of the program theses.

[Boudova] We thank you for the interview.

Obzina Views Past CSSR Economic 'Weak Spots'

AU1301082689 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 5 Jan 89 p 2

[Jiri Leschtina article in the "A Commentary" column: "Quo Vadis, CEMA?"]

[Excerpt] In past decades the answer to that question used to be rather a declamation of the successes and the bright future. Certainly, one of the successes is that nowadays the CEMA states contribute 21 percent of the world's national income, generate one-fifth of its electricity, extract one-quarter of its crude oil, and produce one-third of its steel. However, if we compare the per capita volume of exports, then at the end of the eighties the CEMA countries lagged behind the EEC countries by a factor of 4.1, behind the United States by a factor of 1.7, and behind Japan by a factor of 2.4. As a result, national economists from the socialist countries today openly discuss why one has not succeeded in utilizing the potential of the community to the full extent, supported by the unified political course of our countries.

For example, many people see the main problem in the fact that, especially in the initial stage of the shaping of the economic structure of these countries, too much of the Soviet economic model was adopted. The economic models which thus came into being did not complement one another at the beginning. Instead, they had an analogous structure and identical weak spots. "Of course, in the first years after CEMA's founding, there was no need for us to extract those 130 million tonnes of coal or produce 15.5 million tonnes of steel annually for our use alone," CSSR Deputy Premier J. Obzina said in this connection at a news conference held yesterday [4 January] on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of CEMA's founding. "At that time, however, we threw all resources into heavy industry to help the more backward CEMA countries. We paid dearly for this by not succeeding in becoming part of the rapid development of the scientific-technical revolution in the fifties, a revolution which is obvious in the advanced capitalist countries today."

Thus, all CEMA countries face the following fundamental problem: how to catch up with the most advanced capitalist countries, particularly in terms of the standard of living? In this connection one speaks about the need to respect differing conditions and the specific nature of reforms in the individual states when resolving common issues in the future. [passage omitted]

Funding Changes Set in CPCZ Operations

AU1101122589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jan 89 p 2

[Vlastimil Bradac article in the "In Reply to a Reader's Question" column: "On the Payment of CPCZ Membership Dues"]

[Excerpts] At its 10th session last October, the CPCZ Central Committee approved a revision of the scale and principles of the payment of CPCZ membership dues, which took effect 1 January 1989. Some readers have asked us about the gist of this revision.

The change has been made possible by the favorable development in the conduct of the party's financial affairs. The CPCZ covers all its expenditures from its own revenues, and its economic affairs show a surplus every year. In recent years, these surpluses have been used to finance the needs of, for instance, ideoeducational activity, the operation of the houses and chambers of political education, and the like. Large sums have also been invested in developing the party's publishing enterprises, RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA.

Membership dues represent the main source (over 80 percent) of the party's revenues. Revenues from membership dues have been rising in recent years. This results mainly from the increase in the membership base, the growing proportion of gainfully employed party members and candidate members, and a more disciplined payment of dues. The Central Committee has therefore been able to pass a resolution that mainly involves a reduction of membership dues for lower-income categories. Projected in this resolution are comments and recommendations of party organizations and CPCZ control and auditing commissions as well as suggestions raised in communists' letters.

The new scale sets fixed dues for all incomes up to Kcs5,000 [a month]; and the dues are derived from net income. Membership dues for those earning more than this sum represent 4 percent of net income. The new principles make it possible, on a voluntary basis, to pay higher dues than the scale and the principles provide for.

The CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat has approved an explanatory statement on the scale and the principles of the payment of CPCZ membership dues. It is based on the wage conditions in our national economy and the planned changes connected with the restructuring of the economic mechanism, particularly the amended Labor Code.

Net income from work, including quarterly, half-yearly, or yearly bonuses, special compensation, and profit shares, continues to form the basis for setting membership dues. Included in the basis is also all other income on the side, which a member or candidate member is bound to report to his primary organization, including supporting evidence. [passage omitted]

The explanatory statement on the scale and the principles of the payment of CPCZ membership dues will be made available to the party organizations' treasurers. It will also be issued as a constituent part of the party member's or candidate member's card so that it will be at the disposal of every party member and candidate member.

As far as the party's budget for 1989 is concerned, it remains balanced, even though the scale has been made less progressive. This is a result of measures of principle on the expenditure side—construction and other investment activity, for instance, is being curtailed. It is foreseen that, in connection with changes in the forms and methods of party work, various training courses, aktivs, and seminars will be organized predominantly outside working hours. The use of some cost-cutting measures is also to be made experimental in party organizations. All this will reduce spending and help maintain a balanced budget.

The payment of membership dues is by no means a mere formality. It is an integral part of internal party discipline and unity, and it also reflects every communist's attitude toward the party. It is also from this point of view that all primary party organizations must pay attention to a consistent application of the new principles.

New Czech Deputy Ministers Take Office

AU1101112489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] Jana Synkova, Czech SR minister of education, youth, and physical training, formally presented her deputies, who had been appointed by the Czech SR Government effective 1 January 1989, on Monday [2 January]. Assistant Prof Milan Sulista, doctor of natural sciences and candidate of sciences, was named deputy minister for university-level schools, science, and foreign relations; and Vaclav Senkyr, doctor of social sciences and candidate of sciences, was named deputy minister for youth care, physical training, and elementary and secondary schools.

Gabcikovo Hydroelectric Construction Progress

AU1101152989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jan 89 p 1

["oz"-signed report: "Important Step in Gabcikovo"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—The winter regimen has begun at the construction site of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric scheme. [passage omitted] There are about 4,500 persons currently working on the project; last year they carried out work worth about Kcs1.5 billion. Thus far, roughly one-half of the projected costs of more than Kcs18 billion have been spent. It is expected that this capital will be recouped in 12 years once the project goes into operation. [passage omitted]

New Agriculture, Food Workers Trade Union Noted

AU1201115789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jan 89 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] The constituent session of the Central Committee of the Agriculture and Food Industry Workers Trade Union was held in Prague on Wednesday [4 January]. The new trade union has been formed by merging two existing trade unions (the Agricultural Workers Trade Union and the Food Industry Workers Trade Union) on the basis of conclusions adopted at the National All-Trade Union Conference and of resolutions adopted by the sixth plenary session of the Central Trade Union Council (URO). Rudolf Cerny was elected Central Committee chairman. The meeting was attended by Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and URO chairman; and by Jaromir Algayer, CSSR minister of agriculture and food.

Over 4 Million Telephone Licenses Issued

AU1201085189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jan 89 p 5

[CTK report: "Further Telephone Exchanges This Year"]

[Text] Prague—Toward the end of 1989 the CSSR should have 4,061,000 telephones, with 1,527,000 of them in private homes. This year the telecommunications staff will focus its attention on meeting applications for telephones in Prague and Bratislava.

Seven automated area telephone exchanges are to be put into operation this year—in Dobris, Hlohovec, Cadca, Kladno, Ostrov nad Ohri, Uhersky Brod, and Prague. The automated transit telephone exchange in Pardubice will also begin trial operations.

Husak Names Colotka Ambassador to France

LD1401022189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] President of the Republic Gustav Husak has nominated Peter Colotka as CSSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to France. At the same time, he decided to recall Mecislav Jablonsky from this post.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 29 Dec-8 Jan

AU1001182089 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague PRACE in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 30 December to 9 January report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Upon his return to the Prague from a visit to Cuba and Nicaragua on 8 January, Milos Jakes was welcomed at Prague Ruzyne Airport by Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, Josef Haman, Karel Hoffmann, Jozef Lenart, and Frantisek Pitra. (PRAVDA 9 Jan 89 p 2)

The opening of new facilities connected with the issuing of visas and customs and passport checks on 2 January at the Petrzalka-Berg border-crossing point was attended by Ignac Janak, Frantisek Kincl, and Ivan Knotek. The inauguration of a similar facility at the Hate border-crossing point was attended by Vladimir Herman and Frantisek Kincl the same day. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Jan 89 p 1)

Miroslav Stepan and Karel Urbanek paid a visit to builders of Prague housing developments on 29 December. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Dec 88 p 2)

Ignac Janak and Ivan Knotek arrived for a 2-day visit to the east Slovak region on 5 January. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Jan 89 p 2) They concluded their visit on 6 January. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Jan 89 p 2)

A CPCZ delegation headed by Karel Urbanek, leaving to attend the Ninth DKP Congress, was seen off at Prague Ruzyne Airport by Jozef Lenart on 5 January. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Jan 89 p 2)

Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, went skiing in the Krkonose Mountains on 30 and 31 December. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Jan 89 p 2)

Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR president, received Viktor Lomakin, Soviet ambassador, in Prague on 6 January. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Jan 89 p 1)

Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Central Bohemian CPCZ Regional Committee, was present when the employees of the AZNP enterprise in Mlada Boleslav started their first shift of 1989 on 2 January. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Jan 89 p 2)

Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, presented to Stepan Kobliha, consultant of a CPCZ department, the Order of Labor on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, in Prague on 30 December. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Dec 88 p 2)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, was present when the employees of the Dimitrov chemical works in Bratislava started their first shift of 1989 on 2 January. He attended an exhibition of paintings in Bratislava the same day. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Jan 89 p 2) He also paid a visit to the new press center in Bratislava on 4 January. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Jan 89 p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier, was present when the employees of the International Day of Women enterprise in Bratislava started their first shift of 1989 on 2 January. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Jan 89 p 2) He paid a visit to the Czechoslovak television facilities in Bratislava on 3 January. (RUDE PRAVO 4 Jan 89 p 2) Knotek paid a visit to Czechoslovak radio's facility in Bratislava on 4 January. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Jan 89 p 2) He presented to Michal Valachovic, director of the wine enterprise, the Order of Labor on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, in Bratislava; the date of this is not given. (PRAVDA 9 Jan 89 p 1)

Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, visited a power station in Pocerady and Melnik on 6 January. (7 Jan 89 p 2)

Frantisek Pitra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Czech premier, attended a joint session of the Czech Government and the Czech Trade Union Council, in Prague on 4 January. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Jan 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, attended a rally marking the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution in Prague on 29 December. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Dec 88 p 2)

Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, presented Jaroslav Kovarik, deputy chairman of the Czech Central Committee of the Union for Cooperation With the Army, the Order of Red Star on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, in Prague on 29 December. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Dec 88 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, received ranking personnel of the CKD engineering works in Prague on 29 December. (PRACE 30 Dec 88 p 1) He was present when the employees of the Laktos enterprise in Prague started their first shift of 1989 on 2 January. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Jan 89 p 2) He attended the constituent meeting of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Employees in Agriculture and the Food Industry in Prague on 4 January. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Jan 89 p 2)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received Cenap Keskin, the new Turkish ambassador to the CSSR, in Prague on 4 January. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Jan 89 p 2) He received Yevgeniy Silin, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, in Prague on 4 January. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Jan 89 p 2) He was present when new Turkish Ambassador Cenap Keskin presented his credentials to CSSR President Gustav Husak in Prague on 5 January. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Jan 89 p 1)

Appearances for 9-11 Jan

AU1301133589 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 10 to 12 January report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourceline of each report in parentheses):

The CPCZ delegation headed by Karel Urbanek which attended the Ninth DKP Congress in Frankfurt am Main was welcomed by Jozef Lenart upon its return at Prague Ruzyne Airport on 9 January. (RUDE PRAVO 10 Jan 89 p 2)

A reception honoring the Cuban national day and held in Bratislava on 10 January was attended by Ignac Janak and Ivan Knotek. (PRAVDA 11 Jan 89 p 1)

A gala gathering marking the 20th anniversary of the founding of the CPCZ Central Committee weekly TRIBUNA and held in Prague on 11 January was attended by Jan Fojtik and Karel Urbanek. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Jan 89 pp 1, 2)

Jozef Lenart, accompanied by Vladimir Herman, paid a visit to the south Moravia region on 11 January. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Jan 89 p 2)

Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, was among those who attended an aktiv of the north Moravian party, trade union, and economic bodies in Novy Jicin on 11 January. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Jan 89 p 1)

CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Frantisek Hanus attended a consultative meeting of chairmen of party organizations in industry, in Prague on 11 January. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Jan 89 p 2)

Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received Vlastimil Ehrenberger, the new CSSR ambassador to Hungary, in Prague on 10 January in connection with the latter's taking up his post. (PRAVDA 11 Jan 89 p 2) He received Wolfgang Mischnick, head of the FDP faction in the FRG Bundestag, in Prague on 11 January. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Jan 89 p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier, received heads of consular offices located in Bratislava on 9 January. (RUDE PRAVO 10 Jan 89 p 2) He attended a joint session of the Slovak Government Presidium and the Slovak National Council in Bratislava on 11 January. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Jan 89 p 2)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, returned from the Paris chemical weapons conference on 10 January. (PRAVDA 11 Jan 89 p 2)

Honecker Holds Talks With Hamburg Industrialist

LD1601235989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1648 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received the Hamburg industrialist Kurt A. Koerber, founder of the "Koerber Foundation" and initiator of the "Bergedorfer discussion circle," today for talks.

During their frank exchange of views on international basic questions the interlocutors were in agreement that in the nuclear age the safeguarding of peace is the decisive fateful question for mankind. In this regard they stressed the important role of a constructive international dialogue for the successful solution of mankind's global problems. This has proved its value with the achieved improvement in the international climate and, above all, with the entry into nuclear disarmament.

Erich Honecker acknowledged the contribution Dr Koerber has made with his committed work for the promotion of constructive East-West cooperation.

Erich Honecker stressed the key position of new far-reaching disarmament steps for the consolidation of positive tendencies in international development and for the solution of the global problems of mankind.

He said that the Warsaw Pact states have made proposals, capable of compromise, for the whole spectrum of weapons categories, proposals directed at a systematic lowering of the level of military confrontation down to a state of mutual non-capability of attack. The most recent declarations made by the Soviet Union to considerably reduce their forces in Europe (unilaterally) and to begin the destruction of their chemical weapons this year show the seriousness of the socialist states' intention to bring about a breakthrough in the sphere of disarmament as soon as possible.

However, disarmament cannot be a one-way street. Efforts by opponents of disarmament to ruin what has been achieved and to start a fresh round in the arms race caused even more anxiety.

The interlocutors were in agreement that the historical chance that has arisen must not be allowed to go to waste. It is necessary to further strengthen the cooperation among all those powers interested in peace, security, and cooperation to continue nuclear disarmament, to achieve a ban on chemical wepaons, to start the process of conventional disarmament in Europe, and to solve urgent ecological probelms, on which mankind's future depends.

Dr Koerber described the business of and the course of the 87th "Bergedorfer Discussion Circle," which had taken place the previous weekend in Dresden and was dedicated to global environmental problems. The discussion produced useful stimuli for the deepening of East-West cooperation.

Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR places great value on the protection of the environment. The environmental policy of the GDR is embedded in its economic and social policies. As a modern industrial state with a developed agriculture lying in the heart of Europe, the GDR is conscious of its responsibility for the solution of international tasks of environmental protection and will also make its contribution to this in the future.

Erich Honecker referred to the declaration made by the participating states of the Warsaw Pact in July 1988 on questions of ecological security, in which they laid down their ideas for the dynamic development of international cooperation in the ecological sphere, starting at the close connection between the safeguarding of peace, disarmament, and the solving of environmental problems. The GDR is receptively disposed to all initiatives concerning this.

State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, head of the Chancellery of the State Council Chairman; State Secretary Dr Herbert Krolikowski, first deputy of the GDR minister for foreign affairs; and Professor Dr Max Schmidt, director of the GDR International Politics and Economics Institute; took part in the talks.

Press Publishes Honecker Speech to Diplomats

AU1301143989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jan 89 p 1

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at the New Year's reception in the State Council headquarters in East Berlin on 11 January: "The GDR Always Remains a Reliable and Predictable Partner"]

[Text] Mr Doyen,

Ambassadors and charges d'affaires,

Comrades and friends:

I would like to thank you and the diplomatic corps very warmly for your New Year greetings. I agree with you that the year 1988 set clear and favorable signs for the triumph of reason and dialogue and that a positive development to the benefit of all mankind can be observed in international relations.

A change from confrontation to detente and cooperation is being carried out despite the continuing complex world situation. In the sphere of disarmament, the elimination of the USSR and U.S. medium-range missiles began according to agreement, which gives hope to all of those who are in favor of steps that go even further. Some international conflicts were settled; one could not have expected such a thing years ago.

In all of this one can certainly see proof that responsible thought and action by political leaders of many states, concentrated on today's realities and requirements, are worthwhile. The GDR has contributed to the positive changes in the international arena and while thanking you, Mr Doyen, for your words of appreciation, I affirm that it will also do so in the future. Nowadays there is nothing more important than removing the nightmare of the danger of a nuclear war. This forms the main criterion for each policy. I consider it a noble wish to strive for a world here mankind can enjoy a safe peace and where man can enjoy his rights; a world free from injustice, oppression, and aggression. Here, the common European home also has its place, its inhabitants, mindful of the ravages caused by two great wars in this century have an even greater duty to work for a stable foundation for peace.

Unfortunately, quite a few shadows continue to fall on the international arena. Huge sums are still being wasted on armaments and weapon systems—whether nuclear, chemical, or conventional—which are being modernized and newly developed. We must put a stop to them so that the improvement in the world situation can continue, for a relapse into past times would have serious consequences. Not least of all the solution of regional conflicts should have beneficial effects on the world political climate.

Many global problems still await solution through the united efforts of the world community. I am thinking of hunger and underdevelopment, of the threat to the environment and of sicknesses, but also of the peaceful use of space or the mastering of the most modern technologies for the benefit of mankind. Peace and disarmament are an imperative prerequisite for progress here. Therefore the desire is growing in the world public not to allow a pause in the disarmament process.

We consider it a prime task in the year 1989 to speed up and to achieve further far-reaching agreements in the nuclear as well as in the conventional sphere. It would be a good prelude if, after the successful conclusion of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, for which the GDR works steadfastly, the European conferences for conventional disarmament and for confidence-building would quickly get down to business. The central point is to drastically reduce armed forces and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals. We also attach great importance to other confidence-building measures, which considerably reduce the danger of miltary action.

The international conference on banning chemical weapons, which French President Francois Mitterrand invited (us) to in Paris, formed the prelude for this year. We are convinced that it gives new impetus to the negotiations for a convention on banning chemical weapons, which goes beyond the 1925 Geneva protocol. The Warsaw Pact states are showing their goodwill and readiness to compromise and allow words to be followed by deeds. Here, I acknowledge especially the decision by the USSR, announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations, to reduce their Armed Forces unilaterally and independent of negotiations, by 500,000 men and considerable conventional weapons systems. Yet again this is a courageous advanced concession which, because of its weight, deserves to be called historical and is exceedingly beneficial for the disarmament process and its prospects.

We consider it necessary that all those involved rid themselves of ithe old cliches of military strength and that they disarm and work purposefully toward bringing about a situation where neither side can attack the other. In the future the GDR will continue to make its contribution here. An agreement between the USSR and the United States on halving the strategic nuclear potential cannot be highly rated enough in its value for the future of the world.

Mr Doyen,

Ambassadors and charge d'affaires,

In 1989 the GDR celebrates its 40th anniversary. This year will be supported by creative work in preparation for the 12th SED Congress. All of this makes it possible to do justice to the present needs in the economy and in science, culture, and the social sphere. In international relations the GDR will continue to remain a reliable and predictable partner.

You, ambassadors and charges d'affaires, have also contributed in the past year to the development of relations between the GDR and states you represent. I sincerely thank you for this.

I ask you to convey my best greetings and wishes to the state and government leaders of your countries.

I wish a happy and successful 1989 to you yourselves, ambassadors and charges d'affaires, as well as to your families.

Axen Reportedly Criticizes DKP's Mies

AU1601144789 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 16 Jan 89 p 17

[Unattributed report: "Red Fraternal Strife"]

[Text] Strife is in the offing between the SED and its fraternal FRG organization DKP. In internal talks Hermann Axen, 72, SED Central Committee secretary for international liaison, spoke deprecatingly of DKP Chairman Herbert Mies and the course of the DKP Congress in Frankfurt over the weekend before last [6-8 January]. Up to one-third of the more than 600 delegates demonstrated the split of the party that is loyal to the SED with calls for programmatic and personnel renewals, motions for more inner-party democracy and glasnost, and with 159 votes against Mies' reelection. In his delegation Axen, who had been sent to keep an eye on the congress, criticized that Mies did not come to grips with the "critical situation" (Mies) of the party. The "critical heads," who quote restructuring as their justification, could have been integrated in the party executive committee without any problems. Three of them, who were voted out of the leading DKP body in Frankfurt, had been given a talking-to by Axen in individual talks in the GDR last November. Even though the SED functionary accused the DKP members of reformism, he asked them not to leave the party in anger. The fact that DKP Chairman Mies himself had spoken of "two lines" in his party is, as Axen said, "unfortunate." Now it is no longer excluded in the DKP that the SED might drop 59-year-old party Chairman Mies, who has been in office for 15 years.

Lorenz Addresses Cuban Revolution Meeting

AU1301182089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jan 89 p 2

[Excerpts] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN/ND)—A meeting of friendship and solidarity on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban Revolution united working people from the GDR and the Caribbean island republic in Karl-Marx-Stadt on Wednesday [11 January]. Siegfried Lorenz, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership; Achim Reichardt, general secretary of the GDR Solidarity Committee; and Oscar Israel Martinez Cordoves, envoy of Embassy of the Republic of Cuba in the GDR; participated in the meeting.

Siegfried Lorenz paid tribute to the revolutionary role of Cuba as the first country of the American continent to open the door for a future free from capitalist suppression and exploitation. Today, Cuba can refer to achievements that are unique in Latin America and serve as a beacon for the peoples still struggling for freedom, democracy, and social progress. [passage omitted]

In the 40 years of the GDR's history, international solidarity, Siegfried Lorenz stressed, has become a matter that is close to the hearts of the people. Regarding socialist Cuba, this solidarity has been very practical from the first day of the revolution on the Caribbean island. It ranges from financing the studies of young Cubans at GDR universities and technical schools and training skilled workers in the republic's enterprises and combines, to establishing important industrial plants for the Cuban economy. [passage omitted]

PLO Changes Name of Embassy in Berlin

LD1601214589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1521 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—The Embassy of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the GDR has been renamed the Embassy of the State of Palestine in the German Democratic Republic with effect of 16 January 1989. The GDR Council of Ministers has thus agreed to a relevant request by the PLO Executive Committee.

First Load of Gasworks Equipment Delivered to PRC

AU1601132989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] Grimma/Rostock (ADN)—The first load of equipment for a gasworks in Pinkiang, northern PRC, is currently being transported to the PRC aboard the MS "Sangerhausen." The general contractor for this project, which is to supply city gas to the metropolis, is the Leipzig-Grimma Chemical Installations Combine. The main part of the equipment will be manufactured in six enterprises of this combine by the end of November.

Statistics on SED Membership in 1988 Published

AU1701121189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jan 89 p 3

["Qualitative Strengthening of the SED Ranks Continues"]

[Text] At its session on 10 January 1989 the SED Central Committee Secretariat discussed a report on the development of SED membership in 1988 and decided to publish it for general evaluation.

I

With the consistent and comprehensive implementation of the resolutions adopted by the 11th SED Congress, the stable, continuous development of the SED membership movement continued in 1988.

By the end of the 1988, 2,260,979 members and 64,016 candidate members—altogether 2,324,995 members and candidate members—were organized in the SED. As a result of 1988 party elections, there are 59,103 basic organizations, of which 4,673 are subdivided in 29,493 departmental party organizations. There are 94,694 party groups in the basic organizations.

Since the 11th SED Congress, the number of party members and candidate members has increased by 20,874.

During the period under review, the basic organizations admitted 52,006 candidate members to the party. During the same period, 55,885 members and candidate members left the party.

In line with the resolutions of the Central Committee Secretariat, in 1988 the quantitative increase was thus limited, and the qualitative development process of the party regarding the admission of candidate members by the basic organizations was given more attention. In this respect, the strict application of the Leninist principles regarding the selection and admission of working people into the party also played a role. As compared to the previous year, 6,051 fewer candidate members were admitted. The consistent dealing with party members and candidate members who did not meet the requirements of the party statute led to a major number of expulsions and deletions.

During the period under review, the numerical strength of the party decreased by a total of 3,336 members and candidate members.

The basic organizations admitted 48,436 candidate members as members into the party in 1988.

More than 82,000 comrades had to be placed in a different social category, because they had taken over a new job or had resigned from the work process.

About 308,000 members and candidate members changed the basic organizations, which made organizational-technical work very exacting.

II

The development of the party's composition by social categories is shown in the following statistics:

	By the end of 1988 (percent)	By the end of 1987 (percent)
Workers	57.8	58.1
Production workers	37.1	37.6
Cooperative peasants	4.9	4.9
Members of the intelligentsia	22.4	22.3
Employees	7.2	7.4
Students/pupils total	2.2	2.2
Students/pupils, not including workers and cooperative peasants delegated to studies	0.7	0.7
Members of production cooperatives, self-employed persons	0.8	0.8
Pensioners total	15.6	15.0
Pensioners who previously were not workers or cooperative peasants	5.3	5.0
Housewives	0.9	0.8

III

The review period illustrated again the growing demands on the leadership activities of the bezirk and kreis leaderships, to implement the basic line of the policy of admission and regulation, the safeguarding of the composition according to classes, in line with the SED's character.

Regarding the quantitative development, clear differences between the 15 bezirk party organizations become visible in the period under review. In eight party organizations, the number of members and candidate members increased; in seven organizations, there was a decrease, which was largest in the Dresden Bezirk party organization, accounting for 2,230; Karl-Marx-Stadt, accounting for 1,975; and Leipzig, accounting for 1,517.

In addition, in some bezirk party organizations the percentage of production workers decreased, as against the previous year, as a result of regradings due to structural changes in the production process, training and advanced training measures, and the resignation of elderly comrades from the work process, as well as expulsions and deletions. The decrease in the party as a whole is 0.5 percent. That means that the enforcement of the orientation to offset a major part of the expulsions and deletions from the party by the admission of candidate members, requires an increasing concentration on production collectives.

As experience in the basic organizations has shown, the admission of best workers, in particular from among the youth brigades, and young workers who have performed exemplary work in socialist competition, in the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow movement, and in the innovators' movement, and who enjoy the confidence and respect of work collectives, remains the most important task of ensuring the class composition of the party ranks.

IV

Comparison of the political and technical training of the party members and candidate members with that of last year shows further progress.

Proportion of members and candidate members (percent) who attended a	by the end of 1988	by the end of 1987
party school, total	53.1	51.0
party college	0.7	0.7
bezirk party school	7.9	7.5
party school 3-11 months	44.0	42.4
graduated from university	17.3	16.8
from a technical school	23.2	22.5
master craftsmen/engineers	8.2	8.1
skilled workers	79.9	80.0

In 1988 77,038 comrades graduated from a party school.

V

The following development took place with respect to the composition of the party according to age:

Age years	Members and candidate members			
	by the end of 1988		by the end of 1987	
	number	percent	number	percent
up to 25	264,180	11.4	282,947	12.2
26-30	256,238	11.0	254,278	10.9
31-40	507,344	21.8	494,387	21.2
41-50	421,567	18.1	435,305	18.7
51-60	439,597	18.9	436,756	18.8
61-65	156,477	6.8	151,269	6.5
above 65	279,592	12.0	273,389	11.7

The average age of the party members and candidate members currently is 45.2 years. Compared with last year, it has gone up by 0.2 percent.

The basic organizations admitted 38,897 candidate members into the party up to 25 years of age, these are 74.8 percent of the total.

During the period under review, 29,742 comrades reached retirement age.

The distribution according to age shows a healthy ratio of battle-tested and young party members. One-third of the party members have been in the party for more than 25 years, among whom there are 3,895 comrades who actively participated in the struggle against fascism. At the 11th SED Congress, there were still 5,035.

VI

The bezirk and kreis leaderships primarily concentrated on ensuring the class-structure of the party.

The basic organizations admitted 38,434 workers—34,658 of whom are production workers—as candidate members into the party. This is a proportion of 73.9 percent and 66.6 percent respectively. Opposed to this were about 46,000 exits from the party in the social category of workers because of death, deletion, expulsion, or resignation, and of transferral into another social category because the respective members took over a new job, so that a balance was not achieved in full.

A total of 84.5 percent of the workers admitted into the party have undergone skilled workers training. The following table shows which professions are most frequent and also shows a comparison with the previous year:

Skilled Workers Training in the field of	Workers admitted	
	1988 (percent)	1987 (percent)
Machinery, apparatus, and installation construction	19.5	19.2
Electrical engineering and electronics, automation technology	9.3	9.4
Construction sector	8.7	8.5
Trade, gastronomy, services	8.1	8.2
Manufacturing engineering and unit operations	6.8	7.0
Agriculture, forestry, and fishery	4.5	4.1
Traffic and transportation	3.8	3.9
Textiles and clothes	3.3	3.4

The admission of 8,127 candidate members into the youth brigades—these are 17.3 percent of the admissions of candidate members in 1988—served primarily the consolidation of the organized influence of the party among the workers youth.

In many basic organizations the principle of integrating the purposeful selection and admission of the best as party candidate members in the conclusions drawn for further promoting the youth brigades on the basis of the decision of the Central Committee Politburo of 19 April 1988 on the meeting of the youth brigade members in Zeitz. These experiences should be generalized even more effectively by the bezirk and kreis leaderships.

VII

The proportion of cooperative peasants in the social composition of the party remained unchanged at 4.9 percent compared with the previous year. The number of cooperative peasants in the party increased by 712 during the same period.

The organizational influence of the party among the class of cooperative peasants was slightly increased by the admission of 2,677 candidate members. In addition, there is the influx of comrades who were admitted as members into the agricultural production cooperatives. The majority of them are apprentices who will become members of such a production cooperative after their agricultural vocational training has been concluded.

In agriculture and forestry 148,156 comrades are organized in the basic organizations. This corresponds to a proportion of 6.4 percent of the entire party.

This proportion has remained constant over the past 3 years. In this economic sector, the basic organizations admitted 4,214 candidate members into their ranks, 89.4 percent of whom have concluded skilled workers training and 76.1 of whome are below 25.

VIII

At present, 520,073 members of the intelligentsia are organized in our party. Compared with the end of 1987, their proportion in the social composition of the party has increased by 0.1 percent.

The following table shows the distribution among the largest groups of the intelligentsia:

	Members and candidate members number	Proportion in the party's social composition (percent)
Technical and economic intelligentsia	133,311	5.7
Leadership cadres of the national economy and other social sectors	122,252	5.3
Pedagogical intelligentsia	122,076	5.3
Leadership cadres in the party and state apparatus and in mass organizations	78,705	3.4

The bezirk and kreis leaderships secured the organizational influence of the party among civics teachers. At present, 8,519 comrades who teach civics belong to our party. This year the basic organizations admitted 1,132 students at the respective universities as party candidate members, who are undergoing training as licensed teachers for civics.

In total, the number of students and pupils in the party amounts to 50,434. The candidate members admitted during the period under review include 4,057 students.

IX

With its basic organizations the SED is firmly rooted in all social sectors. The following table shows that the distribution of party forces has remained basically constant compared with 1987:

	Members and candidate members			
	by the end of 1988		by the end of 1987	
	number	percent	number	percent
Industry	598,351	25.7	608,444	26.1
Construction sector	73,537	3.2	75,359	3.2
Agriculture and forestry	148,156	6.4	148,301	6.4
Transportation, posts, and telecommunications	120,575	5.2	120,985	5.2
Trade	109,908	4.7	110,784	4.8
Other branches of the production sector	44,682	1.9	45,853	2.0
Service sector	30,491	1.3	30,209	1.3
Cultural and social institutions	274,434	11.8	274,202	11.8
State administrations, social organizations	502,245	21.6	500,464	21.5
Residential party organizations	422,616	18.2	413,730	17.8

The decline in the number of members and candidate members in the production sectors is primarily due to the increase of retirees in the party by almost 13,000 compared with 1987. At the same time, this leads to the conclusion that even more attention has to be paid to the industrial workers as regards the admission of candidate members into the party.

In the centrally-administered combines of industry, the construction sector, and the transportation sector, there are at present 6,623 basic organizations of the party with 559,612 comrades.

During the period under review, these basic organizations admitted 18,652 candidate members into the party, 87.9 percent of whom are production workers. As regards the admission of candidate members, almost one out of two production workers was admitted into such a basic organization. In the bezirk- and kreis-administered economy the organizational influence of the party was increased by admitting 7,928 candidate members.

During the period under review, the basic organizations in the National People's Army and in the Ministry of State Security strengthened their ranks by admitting 4,851 candidate members. This are 635 more than in 1987.

X

The proportion of female comrades among the party members and candidate members increased by 0.3 percent to 36.5 percent in 1988 compared with the previous year.

Of the 848,613 female comrades, 48.1 percent attended a party school and 36.2 percent graduated from a university or technical college. Compared with 1987 this is an increase by 2.5 percent and 1.1 percent respectively.

The following table shows further progress in the use of female comrades in full-time party functions, in the state apparatus, and in the mass organizations.

Full-time functions	Number of female comrades	
	by the end of 1988	by the end of 1987
Party	6,494	6,264
State apparatus	40,620	38,784
Mass organization	13,807	13,426

The candidates admitted during the period under review included 21,734 female comrades, 61.0 percent of whom are workers, 5.4 percent are cooperative peasants, 13.4 percent are members of the intelligentsia, and 13.4 percent are employees.

In 1988 a total of 55,885 members and candidate members left the party; 30,075 comrades died.

Higher Industrial Prices Published in Gazette

AU1601191589 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 14-15 Jan 89 p 34

["F.S." report: "Higher Industrial Prices in the GDR"]

[Text] Berlin—With publication in the GDR Legal Gazette, a number of price increases have come into force in the GDR as of 1 January 1989. More than 100 enterprises are affected by the increase in industrial prices, but not in consumer prices. In order to keep them stable, the GDR is subsidizing them with DM51 billion, that is, one-sixth of its budget. Among other things, the prices for hard coal, mineral oil, and mineral oil products have been increased. Firearms, steel tubes, road construction services, as well as numerous metallurgical and heat-resistant products have also become more expensive. The producers' prices for dairy, breeding, and domestic cattle were also raised.

Daily on Theft at Berlin Document Center

AU1401170789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jan 89 p 2

["W.M." commentary: "Out With the Truth!"]

[Excerpts] Even though a sentence has now been passed on the lawsuit on the spectacular theft of thousands of Nazi files from the Document Center in Berlin (West), the decisive questions still remain unanswered. The 17th great criminal court of the regional superior court placed two people who had violated one rule of profit-making on probation: One must not get caught when selling stolen goods. [passage omitted]

At any rate, it was expected that the lawsuit would divulge which fascist wirepullers were involved, but this expectation was not fulfilled.

Thus, those war criminals whose files were stolen can continue to sleep peacefully, just like those whose files are still stored in the center. However, this is not the end of the affair. What Heinz Galinski, chairman of the Directorate of the Central Council of the Jews in Germany, stated 1 year ago is still valid: "The great discomfort caused by the fact that in all these years the Document Center has not been enabled to fulfill its real and most important task—historical research work—is still there." When will the U.S. authorities open up the Document Center which they control for scientific evaluation, so that the truth about the fascist crimes and criminals can come out?

Leaders' Public Appearances 4-11 Jan Noted

AU1501212989 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 5 to 12 January reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (sourceline of each report in parentheses):

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee [CC] and chairman of the GDR State Council, presented the Karl Marx Order to Politburo member Guenter Schabowski in Berlin on 4 January. (5 Jan, p 2) Erich Honecker also gave an interview to Belorussian filmmakers in Berlin on 9 January. (10 Jan, p 1) He also received the new Bangladeshi and Hungarian ambassadors to the GDR in Berlin on 9 January. (10 Jan, p 2)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received three African ambassadors for their first visits in Berlin on 10 January (11 Jan, p 2) Stoph also received Bangladeshi and Hungarian ambassadors for their first visits in Berlin on 11 January. (12 Jan, p 2)

Hermann Axen, member of the SED CC Politburo held talks with DKP Chairman Mies in Frankfurt/Main on 9 January. (10 Jan, p 1)

Werner Eberlein, member of the SED CC Politburo, addressed a DKP meeting in Gersfeld-Hettenhausen in Hesse on 7 January. (9 Jan, p 1)

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED CC Politburo and defense minister, gave a speech at a ceremony marking the 30th anniversary of the "Friedrich Engels" military academy in Dresden on 4 January. (5 Jan, p 1) He also held talks with Josef Remek, CSSR Air Force commander, in Berlin on 10 January (11 Jan, p 2)

Siegfried Lorenz, member of the SED CC Politburo, addressed a Cuban Revolution meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 11 January. (12 Jan, p 2)

Guenter Mittag, member of the SED CC Politburo, paid a visit of condolence to the Japanese ambassador to the GDR in Berlin on 10 January (11 Jan, p 1)

Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED CC Politburo, attended a reception by the Cambodian ambassador in Berlin on 6 January. (7-8 Jan, p 2) He also presented a solidarity gift to Kurt Seibt, preside of the GDR Solidarity Committee, for the victims of the Armenian earthquake in Berlin on 6 January. (7-8 January, p 2)

Harry Tisch, member of the SED CC Politburo and chairman of the FDGB, received Ibrahim Zakaria, general secretary of the World Trade Union Federation, for talks in Berlin on 4 January. (5 Jan, p 2) He also held talks with Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the Hungarian Trade Unios National Council, in Berlin on 9 January. (10 Jan, p 1)

Janos Berecz Visit to CSSR Summarized

LD1501212089 Budapest MTI in English 1854 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 15 (MTI)—At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Janos Berecz, member of the Political Committee of the HSWP and secretary of the Central Committee, visited Slovakia from January 13 to 15. Mr Berecz met Ignac Janak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ CC and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPSL).

In Bratislava Janos Berecz held talks with Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ CC and secretary of the Central Committee. The parties informed one another about the results of socio-economic restructuring currently underway in their countries and the experience of ideological party work. The parties underlined the historical significance of the tasks that the HSWP and the CPCZ are trying to implement. Mr Berecz and Mr Fojtik discussed how social policy and democracy should be developed and the pluralism of social interests should be acknowledged making use of the novel civil initiatives in the interest of the renewal of socialism. Janos Berecz gave a briefing about the changes and modernization in the system of political institutions and the comprehensive measures aimed at economic advance. The HSWP supports this process and is seeking to play a dominant role in it.

The Central Committee secretaries reviewed cooperation between the two parties. They agreed that each element of the contacts should be strengthened with the involvement of new forms that facilitate democrative transformation and the approach of the two peoples. Ethnic minorities could play an irreplaceable role in this. The parties will pay more attention to the study of this issue and intensify cooperation.

Janos Berecz met Gejza Slapka, member of the Presidium of the CPSL CC and secretary of the Central Committee.

During the visit Mr Berecz visited Komarom and held talks with the city's leaders and personalities of Hungarian nationality.

Differences in Talks Noted

LD1601225489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Interview with Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary, by unidentified correspondent, on 16 January; place not given]

[Text] [Announcer] Janos Berecz, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, has had 3 days of talks in Bratislava with Slovak party leaders. This news in itself is only a matter of protocol; on the other hand, it struck me that the communique does not contain the formulation customary in such cases, namely that the conversation was characterized by a friendly atmosphere. This leaves one to conclude that there was an argument between the two sides. I asked Janos Berecz about this this afternoon:

[Begin recording] [Berecz] For a long time now, I have disagreed with the practice of including in communiques such formal remarks alluding to the mood of the debate or the discussion, because this is not the decisive and important thing. The essential thing is what we talked about. The discussions have indeed been characterized by openness, honesty, and directness. At the same time, there was also a very unequivocal exchange of opinions in which there were things on which we agreed and things on which we did not agree.

[Announcer] On what did you not agree?

[Berecz] It is difficult to formulate what we did not agree on. Naturally, the briefing that he, Comrade Fojtik, gave on the internal processes in Czechoslovakia or the one I gave on the internal processes in Hungary—about these I can say that we did not agree. At the same time, I can also say that we took cognizance of the fact that he evaluates Czechoslovak development in a different way from the way in which I see it; and I presented, or evaluated, Hungarian development in a different way from the way in which he might perhaps have liked to see or hear it.

[Announcer] As a matter of fact, there is even a little example of this. There was a demonstration in Prague yesterday; the police intervened and did not allow people to place flowers in Wenceslas Square. In contrast, in Hungary a law has been adopted on association, on assembly. Could this be one of the points where your opinions diverged?

[Berecz] That is definitely one such point. As a matter of fact, in our opinion, human rights, citizens' rights, have to be and need to be practiced and managed with the appropriate legislation. In contrast, they believe that no matter what kind of demonstration or organization, if it has not been approved, not been planned in advance, then it disrupts and weakens the system. So, on this issue our opinions are definitely and unequivocally different.

[Announcer] Did the Hungarian party, the MSZMP, get some kind of warning from the Czechoslovak party leadership? I say this because we remember that in'68 it was precisely the Hungarian leadership that warned about the consequences of the'68 Prague Spring.

[Berecz] First of all, we have to speak about 1968. Comrade Janos Kadar at that time, in the many kinds of discussions with Dubcek and others, warned not about the consequences, but he did urge them to proceed calmly, slowly, not hastily. So, the analogy is not valid in this connection, because we are also trying to ensure that legislation and the party's law, the Constitution, is approached at a suitable tempo and at the suitable time—in other words, that we should be able to get used to it and have a say in it, and take part in its creation. Thus, it should be fulfilled in the appropriate time frame. As far as their contents are concerned, the'68 period and the present cannot be compared. The Czechoslovak comrades even now are afraid, in a reflex-like manner, of a development like'68, whereas we are in the midst of it.

[Announcer] This was not the first time that you had discussions with Czechoslovak party leaders. Do you see any striking change? After all, there have been personnel changes there as well. So, is there some kind of change in the approach of the Czechoslovak party leadership?

[Berecz] There is. Compared to the discussions we held 18 months ago, they are more wary of the processes and developments in Hungary than previously. There is a bigger question mark as to what direction we are proceeding in, and whether it can be guided, kept in check, and scheduled according to a time frame.

[Announcer] There was mention of the Magyars, of the minorities in Slovakia. What developments can we expect in this field? I read in the communique that they wish to strengthen relations through the involvement of new forms. What are these new forms?

[Berecz] We have now for the first time formulated in discussions—and I emphatically stressed it, both to Slovak party First Secretary Comrade Janak and to Comrade Fojtik—that, as a matter of fact, the main issue for us is not whether they understand that there is a Hungarian nationality and that they have to deal appropriately with them; this is their issue, first and foremost. I am convinced on the basis of historical experiences, and particularly on the basis of the Soviet processes, that the main nation—the one that constitutes the country—will be taught a harsh lesson and suffer aftereffects, upheavals, and problems if it does not deal effectively with the nationality issue.

[Announcer] And they recognize this now in Bratislava as well?

[Berecz] We formulated this for the first time now; they were also a little surprised by this formulation, that we do not urge them to guarantee all the rights of Magyars in Czechoslovakia, but that it is in their interest to guarantee them. Because in that case they will not want to leave there; they will not want to come here from there; they will not want to flee here. They will say: It is worth living in such a country. Well, this is the recognition that led us to conclude that new possibilities must also be sought in cooperation, including the expression of critical opinions, the strengthening of the political nature of the position of Csemadok [organization of Hungarians living in Czechoslovakia], and to, well, restore a good number of schools which earlier were Hungarian-language schools and which have slowly atrophied. From this viewpoint, I would like to mention Komarno, where as a matter of fact this was the first time in my life that I stayed for any length of time; it was very nice to find that both languages are being used equally. Both the Komarno and the Kassa (?theaters) are fulfilling a significant mission, and they would also very much like to have Hungarian contacts.

Finally, I would also like to convey the opinion of the mayor of Bratislava, who said that they have sister-city relationships with nearly 30 towns in the world, but that there is no Hungarian town with which they have such a relationship. Because they were a coronation city [where kings and queens were crowned], they think that they should have a sister-city relationship with Szekesfehervar, which is likewise a coronation city. This is important because this contributes to safeguarding culture and the culture of the language as well. [end recording]

Berecz Addresses Rally on Reform Program

LD1201223789 Budapest MTI in English
2047 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 12 (MTI)—"A turn, reform and renewal are needed in our country, on the basis of the resolutions of the national party conference. Time should decide whether this turn can be called revolutionary or not, the most important thing for us now is to implement, with consensus, and consistently and consciously, the reform programme that serves to solve our problems. In this process, even the expression of left-wing should receive a new meaning. We have to acknowledge that this is not the monopoly of the workers' movement, we should rank all forces that promote our progress, and which are ready for cooperation in this interest", said Janos Berecz, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee, at a rally of activists held on Thursday [12 January] in Gyongyos.

Discussing the need for renewal, Mr Berecz said we have no eternal institutional [as received] either in the party or in other areas of society. No person can become an institution either, leaders who replace one another, and can be replaced are needed.

With respect to the issue of pluralism, Mr Berecz noted that it seems that this process cannot be prevented with democratic means, and should not be prevented by with other means. This is not necessary. The HSWP accepts the political competition situation. At the same time it makes no secret of the fact that it wishes the tasks and responsibility of governing to be its own even on the basis of an election.

Pozsgay FRG Speech on Reforms, Economy

AU1301171689 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 13 Jan 89 p 4

[Excerpt from the speech given by State Minister Imre Pozsgay at a conference on the topic "Europe—Dream and Reality" held at the Arnoldshain Evangelical Academy during his visit to the FRG at the beginning of December; translated into German by Pozsgay's translator Peter Mate and made available to FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU by the coorganizer of the conference, student priest Gyula Cseri of Giessen]

[Text] My task at this conference and the purpose of my participation cannot be more than giving you some information and outlining a concept of the reform ideas that move the Hungarian public and guide the government. Yesterday afternoon I followed the lectures by Professors Benda and Kende with great attention. I found these two lectures very informative. They gave rise to thoughts which require me to reconsider my ideas in certain respects. Nevertheless, you should know and should not be astonished that a Hungarian politician can speak about central Europe today only with hesitation and by excluding certain connections. Today I share and, in a certain respect, continue a political humanity in which not too long ago it was prohibited or taboo to think of such contexts, of central European connections.

I come from a region, a part of Europe, from Eastern Europe, where the division of Europe was a program, a political program. Today it is clear that this programmatic announcement of the division was a mistake, an error, and that it has done damage to all nations involved. The community, the common features, can certainly adopt forms totally different than those that were brought about in Europe after the settlement in 1945. However, because this is, as I already said, not part of the ideas that were permitted on this side of Europe, this division has practically formed the ideas of the people and has created a logic of division.

Today historians, social psychologists, and sociologists can say and note that we were not able to come to terms with two things in this situation. One was history, and the other was the future. We could not come to terms with history because history consisted of certain messages, a message that certain alternatives are inherent in the history of this central Europe. Therefore, the future, too, had to be buried so to speak, because the logical consequences would also have been certain alternatives. Thus, we, like other nations sometimes, also became pragmatic, became administrators of everyday life, particularly in the intellectual sphere.

In view of this history and of a lack of prospects for the future, politics has to reconsider what it means to be a European with a view to the future. In this, politics also has to take into account that in history Hungary was both European and central European, but also that today central Europe or being a central European is rather an idea instead of a ritual program. It was no coincidence that one fact was proven yesterday in both lectures and in several contributions to the discussion: that it is no accident that in our search for this central European idea, in our clinging to central Europe, Hungary has opened up especially toward Austria.

As for these considerations, why this opening up has particularly taken place toward Austria, one could, of course, go back into history; one could think of the historical memories, of the beautiful common experiences and historical developments with Austria. One could also think of the fact that the conflicts with this country were perhaps least numerous during this period. One could consider the harmonious development. But I think that the basic motive in Hungary's opening up toward Austria is Austria's present neutrality, which has given Austria a very special status as a result of the state treaty. We like to think of our historical experiences. We take delight in the past, but we have to say that reality is also a very firm reason for all of this.

While recognizing and accepting our alliance obligations and our alliance loyalty, this orientation made it possible for us to establish such contacts, to expand them, and to also establish more far-reaching contacts. Of course, you could now justifiably ask why it was just Hungary that carried out this orientation, this opening up in the mid-1960's, and even more in the 1970's. Why not the CSSR or Poland? I think that searching for parallels, searching for analogies is not far-fetched.

Since the mid-1960's Hungary has tried to implement a reform program. It was exactly the halfheartedness, the ambiguity of these reform efforts that later made us open up more and go even further. When I say that the Hungarian reforms were implemented halfheartedly or ambiguously, this was not because the intentions of the reform were ambiguous or halfhearted. Rather, the conditions, the opportunities were limited. The limited opportunities provided by the surrounding international conditions made Hungarian reformist politicians reconcile themselves to taking the first step only in the sphere of the economy so as to implement these reforms.

Today this kind of reform, which began in 1968, and the development of reforms after 1968 are being criticized very strongly in our country—I myself am among those who express this criticism. However, this criticism is justified only if one considers these limited opportunities, meaning if one voices criticism only under these conditions and reaches further consequences and conclusions as a result of these thoughts in order to achieve considerably more favorable international conditions. As for this question, I probably do not have to mention that glasnost and perestroyka in the Soviet Union have provided very good and great opportunities for Hungarian reform and for central European union and cohesion. In this respect, I naturally consider foolish those journalistic attempts that want to represent Hungary as a pioneer, as a trailblazer, and the Soviet Union as someone who follows this example, this model. If one can find any analogy, any concurrence at all, then it is only concerning one single point: namely, that after more or less struggle, after more or less painful experiences, both countries have come to the insight that things cannot proceed as they are, that something has to be changed.

From this point onward, there has been the possibility that everyone involved in this region could change something in his own way. There are no given requirements regarding the image of socialism that has to be achieved or any other requirements in order to outline this development and these prospects. Every ideology, every political structure which would have justified and legitimized this model, broke down under the pressure of this new undertaking, this new expression. Of course, it would be a big mistake on my part to think or to want to make you believe that this does not also involve the possibility of a return, that there is not also the danger of something or someone again trying to turn back history.

Here I only wanted to stress the opening up as a very important aspect. To proceed in the spirit of these thoughts, I would say that the idea of a common European home, which, as we know, comes from Gorbachev, has opened the doors to a further orientation toward this. Under this aspect, too, Hungary is trying to redefine its relationship with central Europe and Europe as a whole. Perhaps you will not misunderstand this statement: In this connection, central Europe serves Hungary as a stepping-stone to enter the world. I should perhaps explain in more detail what I mean by this. In doing so, I have to discuss a few economic connections. Among us there are also economists, friends, who could perhaps explain more knowledgably the effects of economic openness on being a European. However, it is a fact that the majority of our relations, in particular historical relations, developed in such a way that Hungary's foreign trade is limited to this geographically well-defined region.

When I look at our economic relations with the West, the FRG occupies first place and Switzerland second. The other countries follow far behind. When one looks at foreign trade turnover as a whole, 80 percent of the entire foreign trade turnover is achieved with those countries that today are located on the territories of the former Germany, the CSSR, Poland, and Yugoslavia. This is a figure that accounts for both the CEMA and the Western parts. This figure, this task, refers only to the interdependence of our relations, but at the same time it also hints at our trade relations. These Hungarian economists think that these material constraints have to be overcome, that one should also go beyond these borders in our economic relations. However, at the moment we have no way of opening up toward Western Europe in a broader sense or to overseas, to the United States. This is because we lack both competitive goods and the capacity of the Hungarian economy. Thus, we have to implement and further develop our preliminary program under this economic aspect. The most important precondition for doing this is that we reform the system of the institutions and carry out political reform. This is also the most important precondition for our presence and participation in Europe.

These were the two aspects—namely the experiences following the regressive development of the Hungarian economic reform after 1968 and the fact that this reform could be braked at all, and, on the other hand, our orientation on world markets—that made it clear to us that one has to tackle Hungarian reform globally, completely, as a comprehensive social reform with an economic and a political part.

Internal and external conditions thus force us to look for new driving forces and values in implementing our reforms, not only to realize the performance of our society, but also to perhaps be able to hold our own in the social sphere. The most important preconditions and foundation stones of this are that property can be personified, that an object of property is there, and that, on the other hand, we have a citizen who is sovereign and capable of self-administration. These two issues—that is, clear property relations and the autonomous citizen—are the two small things that are missing and that have been among the reasons why it has to date been impossible to implement the Hungarian reform.

Those who want to implement radical and profound reforms in Hungarian society cannot avoid these two aspects. The latter refers to the reform of property relations—thus, it would be an economic aspect. Of course, it has certain connections with the public's way thinking, as well as moral consequences. That narrow-minded form of ownership of the Eastern type, which is generally termed the Stalinist model, not only forcibly suppressed ownership on behalf of the state and not only pretty much disrupted property relations.

No, it also integrated the citizen into a rigid, firmly set hierarchy and thus practically also squashed the state. This must be changed by all means, because the citizen who is integrated into this hierarchy, this firmly set hierarchy, is so dependent that he is simply incapable of accepting any risk or responsibility and of accepting certain risky consequences of being an entrepreneur. As for the state, this ignorance and eradication of any function of the state other than its detective functions actually means that the state became nothing else than some sort of production administrator, as the administrative board of an enterprise, one that has no other task except administering production and the required conditions. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that within this state administration model there was another model, namely the party as the state, where the party can intervene at every level of the leadership and of society.

However, this development, this situation has made it necessary to carry out a comprehensive reform, one which involves both the system of political institutions and the entire economy.

What can one do with Europe? Above all, the secure and guaranteed rule of law should facilitate open and better communication with the world. I can formulate this in the following way: Hungary practically wants to get an entry ticket to this Europe, wants to arouse trust, and wants to gain trust itself. This is because through the reestablishment of the rights of the individual and the citizen, Hungary will become a participant in these all-European efforts, as well as institutionally by establishing, or reestablishing, the institutions that belong to the political European culture. Our West European friends are sometimes smiling about us when they hear the same concepts of West European culture from us with which they themselves are presently having problems. As I said, they observe us with a bit of pity as we are now discovering these concepts anew, the concepts of West European culture.

It is correct that the principle of the rule of law is not a new concept, that the separation of powers is not a new term, that the observance of the rights of individuals and the autonomy of individuals are not new concepts. What is new is—as so often happens in history—that I will speak about specific aspects of these problems here and now without diverting your attention with other things.

Above all, we will continue to stress the necessity of global reforms in Hungary, which incorporate social, political, and economic reforms. We would not like to risk being confronted with the accusation that at a time when Hungary is facing a deep crisis—a deep economic crisis—the freedom, the greater civilian freedoms, the greater extent of democracy as it were are intended as a present—as a consolation prize—for the people. As I pointed out, the greater extent of democracy and the implementation of the principle of the rule of law are not a consolation prize in place of the larger piece of bread. All this would not make sense if we ignored the area where economic requirements are to be met. That means that in addition to a reform of the legal position concerning property and to the implementation of the principle of the rule of law, which I already mentioned, we must realize a complete set of measures designed to reform the economy, which includes a reform of the tax system, land reform, wage reform, and a budget reform. In this connection, autonomy, independence, and local self-government are inconceivable without the organs of the local self-government being granted the possibility to dispose freely of the financial means. In that case, the reform efforts would only exist on paper.

I would like to repeat this once more: The two great reform processes—political and economic reforms—must be carried out simultaneously and in constant interreaction with the institutions [Anlagen]. In my capacity as a politician, I have, of course, more detailed information on political reforms than on economic reforms.

Please allow me to briefly mention the planned measures in the sphere of political reforms. First I would like to mention that parliament will pass a law on the right to association and to assembly at its next session in December. At the same time we also want to accelerate preparations for a new Hungarian constitution. However, nobody needs to be afraid that the acceleration of the preparations for the new constitution will be pushed too far. We have the required experiences concerning the legal aspects. We must dig them out or revive them respectively. This means that no new legal activities are required, but only political will. In methodical terms, reconsidering the priorities must be the goal in preparing the new Constitution. As opposed to the current Constitution, human rights must be given top priority in the new constitution. Human rights should be the basis for the creation of these new terms, for the new definitions, and for the new economic structures of the state institutions. As far as the rules for the new election system and the separation of powers is concerned, it must be borne in mind that they form the basis of the Constitution, and those who prepare the new constitution must ensure that the new state is given a pluralistic face.

In this connection, we must consider the norms of the classical separation of powers, established by Montesquieu, according to which a parliament that truly represents the great sovereignty must represent and preserve the power, and an independent jurisdiction must be guaranteed, one of whose main tasks would be the protection of civil law and of the civil rights of the citizens. Of course, we must also continue to think about the people's sovereignty and to search for and create adequate forms of expression. That means that the people, the people's sovereignty, not only exists in the form of a parliament, that these people's representative body is not only given a committee in parliament, but that direct democracy becomes possible—I mean in the form of referendums.

Of course, one must not expect too much from the institution of the referendum. I have just spent some days in Switzerland, where my interlocutors expressed strong criticism of the institution of the referendum. They said that in this way the country becomes ungovernable. However, I believe that we must not let ourselves be deceived by it. Despite this, we have to incorporate this institution into the new constitution. Other institutions which we definitely want to establish in the constitution are constitutional courts and an auditing office to control the state budget. Not least, I would like to mention that in preparing this new constitution, we do not want to disregard more than 1,000 years of experience of Hungarian rule of law and constitution, and we plan to integrate the public-legal experience of Hungarian history into this new constitution. There was a discussion, a conflict of opinions, in Hungary on whether it is at all permitted to create new laws, as long as the new constitution does not yet exist, on whether the new laws will not later conflict with the new constitution and contradict it.

I am of the opinion that there are certainly some spheres in which one should really wait for the completion of the new constitution, that is, above all, the sphere of the state institutions. For example, considering a new electoral law would not make sense now, as long as there is no new constitution. I am of the opinion that one need not wait for it, for example, in regard to the regulation, the guaranteeing of civil rights, of human rights, because completely different guarantees, completely different rights are concerned there. For it is precisely human rights that are a joint cultural asset or a common cultural property, as you like to put it, and the point is that the constitution must not be contrary to human rights—this old cultural asset—and that, on the other hand, human rights are not subordinate to the constitution. Therefore, I am of the opinion that such rights as, for example, regulatory rights, such as the rights of association and assembly, should not be delayed. A new press bill is to be passed, according to the standards of the freedom of press, and I could continue this list indefinitely. All these are legislative activities which need not be postponed until the adoption of new legislation.

With all that I have stated so nicely, I might create the impression of not being aware of the obstacles and difficulties that have to be overcome in order to implement all this in Hungary. If I have created this impression, this is because of the fact that, because of the conditions and the lack of time, I have only been able to restrict myself to rough descriptions. However, by no means do I intend to conceal or withhold that all this has to be achieved in a political struggle, a political confrontation, in hard conflicts. For it would be almost a miracle if this were not the case. Something new has to be created, still under the condition of the former model of the existing political structure. I have been able to tell you all this while benefiting from very good international support. We are now, as already stated, very well supported in all these efforts, even from two sides, on the one hand by perestroyka, on the other hand by the great reforms in China. These two reforms have created a very good international atmosphere, a very good background for our efforts.

On the other hand, Hungary itself should implement this reform or these reform efforts under even more difficult conditions, under conditions of a steadily exacerbating economic crisis. Because the former Hungarian leadership held social peace practically as its top priority, it was practically the main goal, and the solution of the problems—whether they were social or economic problems—was always postponed, the population today feels the burdens of this economic reform with all its might. You also have to consider that a mostly infantilized society, which was patronized by a paternalistic state, can hardly accept the need for sacrifices and is hardly ready to make sacrifices. Therefore, we naturally must not reproach the people. If the people have fallen prey to certain misconceptions, this is a result of nothing else than the structure, which has to be changed.

I apologize for quoting myself without authority. In Hungary I repeatedly stated—and I want to repeat this here—that the situation in Hungary developed within the population: in the people's awareness of an almost fatalistic correlation between the world reform and the situation. When today the people hear the word reform they think of the declining level of real wages. When the people today hear the word reform they think of inflation and unemployment. One of the consequences of this reform will be a restructuring of the Hungarian economy and a structural change, which will, of course, not be achieved without sacrifices. It is also a fact that there are political forces that build far-reaching, great plans on this phenomenon. Indeed, at present it is a great duty of the reformers to push ahead with these reform efforts very consistently, because (as a co-author of the famous pamphlet "Change and Reform," who is present here, said) without a comprehensive reform, without a consistent implementation of these reforms, flourishing and positive development will not be possible in Hungary.

SZOT Demands Offset for Price Increases

LD1301175789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] At the initiative of the professional branch of trade union leaderships, the Presidium of the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] has also made public its stand on the price increases introduced at the beginning of the year. It has announced its demand that the drastic deterioration in real incomes should be offset. According to the SZOT Presidium, the effect of the price increases should be compensated for in wages, pensions, and various welfare benefits. It also calls for an unscheduled meeting of the National Interest Coordination Council to debate the trade union's proposals, which will be made public later. The SZOT Presidium demands that the government work out, within the next 6 months, its concepts concerning wage and social policy reform, and that it outline the economic-political concepts that would serve economic growth and spur the domestic market, and not simply reduce consumption.

SZOT Chief Interviewed

LD1301200689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Interview with SZOT Secretary General Sandor Nagy by Attila Balint on 13 January; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Balint] Does the trade union want to destabilize society?

[Nagy] There is no question of that. It requires a certain amount of lack of information and maybe no small dose of ill-will for someone to interpret the trade unions' steps in this way. What I think is that the Hungarian people, the Hungarian workers, those living on wages and salaries, as a matter of fact, even despite the just protest, have reacted extremely soberly to this considerable price increase, for there has been no incident anywhere that could fit the concept of being a threat to economic and political stability.

[Balint] Following a price increase, and before more price increases, there can be two kinds of approaches. Either a trade union movement fights against the prices, or it fights for wages. If they stick with the fight for wages, even then there can be two kinds of solutions: Either they point upward and submit invoices, or they try down below, on the spot, at the workplace, to attain higher wages.

[Nagy] If we start out from the premise that one of the inevitable causes of the price hikes is the fact that an economy which operates according to the performance principle and which is moving toward a market economy cannot in the long term easily tolerate significant price subsidies. For this reason, the dismantling of these is unavoidable within a certain time frame. Thus, we have to deal first and foremost not with the prices but very much instead with the nominal incomes, nominal earnings, that appear alongside this. We are now first of all placing the emphasis on the side of wages.

This does not mean that we have not said that a price increase of this magnitude and of this composition would trigger serious tensions in Hungarian society. That was foreseeable. It is the consequences of this that now have to be confronted. On the other hand, it would be a very crude error if we were to view wages or other incomes as problems that can be resolved only by administrative measures. We consider the main issue to be that at workplaces, at enterprises, the trade union should take a stand in the interest of the wage increases occurring there as soon as possible, to the extent that they can be justified by economic possibilities and performance.

This, however, does not mean that administrative measures would not be needed for helping this situation to come about—for example, such as the measure whereby we would make possible a general wage increase of a few percent, making an exemption from the accepted wage mechanism regulations. To give just one example: The SZOT Presidium still has before it the very responsible work of elaborating this concept in extremely fine detail. Here I would like to say that it is very important that in HUngary there should be a trade union movement that has a really determined, hardline leadership and which is also responsible and predictable. This, however, does not only apply to the SZOT Presidium, and not just to the branch professional trade unions. It applies at least as much to the enterprise and institution trade unions as well. Let us have no doubt that there are also in the enterprise sphere things to be desired concerning the protection of workers' interests.

In other words, it would be very wrong if we pointed the finger only at the government, or only at the enterprises. There is work to be done in this connection on both sides.

[Balint] So, in the new situation you are proposing new discussions to the government. As for what will be the reception of the document adopted at today's Presidium session, I suppose it is still too early to enquire, but I nevertheless have to ask you: What is your expectation?

[Nagy] I very much hope that exactly the same soberness and sense of responsibility will guide the competent persons in assessing the concepts that we have formulated and the steps to be taken, as with the responsibility with which we have endeavored to formulate this. If a person reads this stance thoroughly, he will discover that the SZOT Presidium has not submitted a vote of no confidence in the government. It is not calling for strikes. But what it calls for and what it urges—and this in a very determined way, I believe, either as a question of conceptual issues, or issues concerning the economic political line, or even specific issues concerning living conditions—is that the government should discuss this as soon as possible, should decide upon its stand, and that we should then seek even within the narrow scope the possible means of a solution.

Government Responds to Union Wage Demands

LD1701161289 Budapest MTI in English
1342 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 17 (MTI)—The local trade union bodies and company management should agree on the extent and time of pay rises. The Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, a representative organization of employers, recommends companies to implement the 3-per-cent wage increase of February 1, said Laszlo Herczog, member of staff of the State Office for Wages and Labour and secretary of the National Interest Coordination Council, with reference to the wage demands set by the trade unions on account of the January 9 price rises. The demand concerning tax-free wage rises cannot be met because the 1989 state budget reckons with this tax revenue, too.

Under the agreement of the National Interest Coordination Council, the lower wage limit will be 3,700 forints as of July 1. Now the trade unions are demanding that the limit should be introduced without a six month delay, and there also are calls for raising the sum. The National Interest Coordination Council recommends, Laszlo Herczog said, that wages lower than 3,700 forints should be raised before July, wherever the financial position of companies allows.

Both workers and companies are pressing for the early implementation of the wage reform. In this context, Laszlo Herczog pointed out that the State Office for Wages and Labour is working to accelerate preparations for the wage reform. Lower wage limits will be worked out for each trade, to serve as a basis for future wage negotiations.

The wage reform can formally be carried out in one or two years, but it is expected to take longer to create conditions for its effective operation, which implies setting up the market economy, transforming the system of political institutions and democratization, said the secretary of the National Interest Coordination Council.

Editorial Praises CSCE Follow-Up Conference

AU1701090989 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Jan 89 p 1

[Editorial by Gyorgy V. Nonn: "The Grand Week of Europe"]

[Text] We can say without fear of ridicule that this year in international politics has really started well. An important international forum concluded successfully in Paris on 11 January, and one can expect a similar successful happening in neighboring Vienna next week.

A grand week of European security and cooperation will commence next Tuesday when the foreign ministers of 33 European countries and of the United States and Canada will express their opinions about the achievements and limitations of the Helsinki process. However, the really important event will be the expected approval of the final document proposed and modified by the nonaligned countries. With this, more than 2 years of work by the CSCE follow-up conference could come to an end without anyone deploring the time spent on this conference. For the first time in the history of follow-up conferences, this final document has tried to achieve more than just a summary of the passages agreed upon by governments holding different views. This final document contains principles that formulate demands based on the general requirements of human and international coexistence, rather than merely listing the prevailing practice.

It was, perhaps, precisely the desire to make progress that made the work of the follow-up conference even more difficult. Therefore, for a long time, it seemed that we could not expect a genuine final document, a tangible result signed by all the participants. However, following Austrian Vice Chancellor Alois Mock's statements, we became more optimistic. According to him, it seems that Romania has given up its intention to implement its objections in connection with the parts of the final document dealing with human rights, and hindering the conclusion of the conference.

However, the continuation of the Helsinki process is reflected not only by this final document. A decision is expected next week on a new European forum which will discuss the reduction of conventional arms, and this time with a desire to succeed. As is well known, central European countries have been holding unsuccessful negotiations on this issue in Vienna for more than 15 years. However, beginning in March 1989, a broader, and undoubtedly more effective forum will be able to handle this issue—namely, a forum of the 23 member countries of the two military blocs. At the same time, guarantees have been worked out that NATO and the Warsaw Pact will not negotiate behind the backs of the other European countries. On the one hand, the participating member countries of the two military camps will negotiate with the neutral and nonaligned countries within the framework of the CSCE, and, on the other hand, the bloc countries will regularly inform their neutral and nonaligned partners about negotiations on conventional disarmament.

The mandate of this new forum will be published only next week. However, we already know that the participants want to gradually eliminate the so-called asymmetries between the NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces. We hope that the so-called common limits to be coordinated at this new forum of negotiations will represent a lower level of arms than the current one concerning certain weapons systems.

Spokesman Previews Visit by UN Official

LD1601235489 Budapest MTI in English 2053 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 16 (mti)—A fact-finding delegation of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is to visit Hungary early February, spokesman Tibor Toth of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told the press on Monday. He expressed the hope that the visit would deepen Hungary's relations with the international agency, and help explore ways the Geneva-based office could contribute to solving the problems of Romanian citizens resettling in Hungary. On the basis of local experience and talks with Hungarian officials, the delegation would survey how the UNHCR could help establish one or more receiving stations for the resettlers, and contribute to their integration in Hungary or further travel.

Hungary is holding informal talks with the UNHCR office since it has not yet signed the United Nations Refugee Convention of 1951. The Hungarian side seeks to obtain information about the forms of administrative and financial assistance the UNHCR could render to Hungary, as a U.N. member state, in solving the refugee problems. The chief commissioner's office is postponing specification of precise forms and methods until the visit of the fact-finding delegation. It is conceivable that UNHCR will open an office in Budapest.

A comprehensive survey of issues related to the 1951 refugees convention is soon to be completed. After that, Hungary is expected to sign the convention which is an indispensable condition of full-scale cooperation with the UNHCR. The invitation of two Hungarian specialists to the Geneva office late January also serves the aim of strengthening relations.

New Joint USSR Border Stations To Open

*LD1301181389 Budapest MTI in English
1721 GMT 13 Jan 89*

[Text] Budapest, January 13 (MTI)— From March 1, four new road border crossing stations will be opened on the Hungarian-Soviet border, between Lonya-Zvonkovoye, Barabas-Kosini, Beregsurany-Luzhanka and Tiszabecs-Vilok. On the Soviet side, the crossing stations will operate as a joint border station, it was agreed among other things, by representatives of the Hungarian and the Soviet Foreign Ministries at talks which, on the Hungarian initiative, reviewed the state of border traffic.

At talks held from January 9 to 13 in Budapest, Nyiregyhaza and Uzhorod, the sides evaluated the agreement signed on August 1, 1985, which simplified the border crossings of persons living in the villages in the border zones. On the proposal of the Soviet side, talks were held on the opportunities to amend and update the agreement. The new agreement is expected to be signed shortly.

Many major changes are shortly expected to simplify the border crossing procedure, which will facilitate trips of residents of the border counties and promote development of their cooperation.

Joint Bulgarian Economic Session Held

*AU1001205589 Sofia BTA in English
2020 GMT 10 Jan 89*

[Text] Budapest, January 10 (BTA corr.)—The 23d session of the Bulgaro-Hungarian Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation completed its work. The protocol was signed by the chairmen of the two parts of the commission Mr. Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, and Mr. Frigyes Berecz, minister of industry.

The commission made a review of the fulfillment of the more important resolutions adopted at the latest meeting between the leaders of the governments of the two countries.

The sides also viewed the preparation for the coordination of the national economy plans of Bulgaria and Hungary for the 1991-1995 period, as well as the opportunities for further deepening of the integration process.

Some of the chief spheres in which will develop in the future the economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Hungary are electronics, computer technology, metal working machines, hydraulics, pneumatics, biotechnologies, production of chemical products and equipment for the metal working industry. Special attention will be paid to the specialization and cooperation in the production. The new forms of economic relations will be broadened.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov was received by Hungary's Prime Minister Mr. Miklos Nemeth.

Second Session of PZPR Plenum Continues

Proceedings for 16 Jan

LD1701090589 Warsaw PAP in English 0117 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 16—Today began the 2d part of the tenth plenum of PUWP CC. The opening speech was delivered by PUWP CC 1st Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The discussion began with the statement by Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Marian Orzechowski.

Here are selected issues from some statements:

Eryka Gorajek, PUWP CC member, seamstress and foreman in "stomil" works in Grudziadz said in part: "As far as internal affairs of the party are concerned, the opinion prevails that the party grew bureaucratic again. Many of our comrades, particularly the long-time party members, ask openly whether PUWP still is, and will remain a Marxist-Leninist party or whether it transformed itself into a social democratic party?

"The majority of participants in talks and discussion at which I was present, were assessing very favourably the moves of the premier and the government. Almost all say that there should be one trade union in a factory. One can hear the OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) is more aggressive than the former 'Solidarnosc,' although its methods are entirely different," said she.

Eugeniusz Kawalec, PUWP CC member, chairman of the managing board of an agricultural cooperative in Zborowskie (southern Poland) said in part: "I propose to set up regional party committees which would operate in Sejm (parliament) electoral districts. Such division will provide the best conditions for organizing work on implementation of economic and social processes, on political campaigns and on intergration of forces. Also, it is indispensable to depart from using in the party the division into workers, peasants, intelligentsia, etc.

"We do not need other unions for the transformations, because many comrades are saying today that the working style of OPZZ is a constructive opposition to the moves of the government and the economic administration. Increased number of trade unions will not give us more bread. We should not decide on these issues until the 'round table' works out a stand on them," concluded he.

In his speech, PUWP CC Political Bureau alternate member and 1st secretary of the Katowice Voivodship Committee Manfred Gorywoda said in part:

"Many party members doubt the success of the dialogue, because they distrust their potential partners due to the past and present not infrequent cases of unrefined, demagogic attacks against the party, of the militant anti-communism. In such situations it is difficult to make a cool and objective judgement. In such conditions it happens here and there that the party leadership's activities are critically assessed, even accusations of submissiveness and sellout are made.

"The views on trade union pluralism differ and are subject to an evolution. The need for one union or, possibly, one factory council in one factory prevails in our voivodship. Yet, at the same time many comrades see the possibility of pluralism's becoming a fact in a forseeable future.

"More and more frequent are the voices that the existence of more than one trade union might become even desirable if it brought about a creative attitude to the solving of the factory problems", Gorywoda said.

Taking the floor, PUWP CC member, film director, rector of the state film, television and theatrical college in Lodz Henryk Kluba said:

"When it comes to judge Comrade Rakowski's questions put during the first part of the 10th plenum (they concerned, inter alia, the arrangement of forces in factories and in the society, the attitude of party members and trade unionists towards 'Solidarity' and to the stance taken recently by Walesa -Ed.) to judge their boldness, practical approach, intuition, ability to foresee the future, then I think that they should be given a positive answer", Kluba stated.

Another CC member, engine driver at Krakow-Plaszow railway station Stanislaw Knap had this to say:

"I think that if the opposition wants to be a constructive one, then let it enter the Sejm, let it do something and be responsible for it, let it present its alternative programme. Let it organise itself. The people in factories want to work in peace.

"At the moment I am a 1st secretary, but if my trade union ordered me: 'You have to go with us,' then I would not have a choice and I would go with the union which I myself persuaded to exist", Knap said.

Jan Paqwlaczyk, CC member, foreman in "Bistona" knitwear works of Lodz said i.a.: "An opinion spreads among many PUWP activists and nonparty persons that in order to create conditions for a radical acceleration of the reforms we, as a party, must find an answer to the most urgent question of today: What is our attitude to the opposition. This problem is of historic dimension. Therefore, I think that the whole party should decide on it.

"Adopting the strategy of the legalization of the opposition would mean cancelling the charge made against the party that its standpoint on democracy and its concept of political system cannot be reformed. At the same time, I must emphasize that a considerable number of the comrades has a negative attitude to an immediate legalizing of 'Solidarnosc,'" said he.

Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, CC member, head of the Cbos polling center stated in part: "We, together with the overwhelming part of the society, pin our hopes on the new government. It has won trust, but the previous government had even greater support at the start of its term.

"Readers of Cbos reports know that PUWP is assessed primarily according to the living standard of the people. The decrease of the confidence in the party goes in step with the worsening of the economic situation and the society's living conditions," he said.

"Polish political reality is not so obvious as it seems to outsiders. Every ninth respondent (11 per cent) in last November's poll—a sample representative for the whole adult population—accepted both PUWP and its adversaries, assuming that both sides serve society well. On the other hand, every tenth respondent trusted neither us nor them. 41 per cent of the convinced [as received] that activity of Lech Walesa serves society well, assess the decision on the liquidation of Gdansk Lenin shipyard as proper. Every fifth supporter of Walesa was glad that Rakowski was appointed to the post of prime minister. The division into the party or opposition supporters does not necessarily determine the attitudes. Therefore, one can not say anything certain about the social base of the opposing political groups, "Kwiatkowski said.

"So far, the majority of Poles have not considered the question about who wields the power, to be vital. They wanted wise and just rule. But the situation changes, there comes a time to depart from the rule approved by the nation towards the rule with participation of various social groups which have differing interests. Those afraid of 'Solidarnosc' should have in mind the threat of the state of self-complacency, inefficiency and conservatism of our cadre. It is not the opposition which is Poland's main problem, and therefore it should not constitute such a problem for the party. We look at them like a rabbit at a snake. Political pluralism became a fact which cannot be ignored, Kwiatkowski said.

Alfred Miodowicz, PUWP CC Political Bureau member, OPZZ Trade Union Alliance chairman: You cannot cheat life. Or working people for that matter too, in a longer period. Not negating the progress over the period of the last two years in deepening the development of the democratization of our life, one should bear in mind that in the realization of the resolution of the 10th congress the party has internal debts, political debts. We are greatly concerned about foreign debts, and rightly so. However, we are as if considerably less concerned by the internal debts. The class trade unions unceasingly and without tiring remind of of this.

We are losing our own base. We desperately seek support from anyone willing to lend it. This is termed as broadening base of government, solutions are sought in anti-crisis pacts, in pro-reformative coalitions. There is a desire to improve the situation through "the round table." These are all very righ and beautiful ideas. And we should fully put them to practice for the good of Poland.

Unfortunately, so far there is talk of agreement between elites, the elite of power and elite of the opposition coming to terms. This is intended to gain, among other things, social consent for further belt-tightening. But working people are saying that as 100 years ago we must start a struggle for a real 8-hour working day. Let us assume that the postulated agreement between the elites is reached, it will however only be worth the paper on which it was written.

We are again experiencing an important—I would say—even landmark moment. That is why I think that the national conference of PUWP delegates, convened in line with the statute, in other words at an appropriate date, should speak out on matters so fundamental for the political system and future of Poland.

I want to warn you—pardon the word but I have not found any other—against our party disregarding the stance adopted by the representation of the Polish working people, that is the 3rd assembly of the OPZZ in Lodz held 5 weeks ago. This stance is clear. It expresses the will to maintain the unity of the working people in the defence of their interests. It was said there that the principle of one trade union in one workplace is to serve this end.

Let us not ignore the fact that our class trade unions have 7 millions members, and nearly 70 per cent of them are former Solidarnosc members.

At the same time, however, we must in real earnest take into consideration feelings of those who do not find enought room for themselves in class trade unions. It was manifested by the OPZZ Council consent to the televised debate. Talks should continue and trade unions should not be replaced in these talks.

The speed and the scope of changes should depend on social peace. Necessary is a prompt action in solving the difficult problem of political pluralism. It will considerably weaken the pressure of political arguments on the trade union movement.

The fact that today the daily agenda of the working people again includes the necessity to defend threatened interests results from the policy which cannot be considered as pro-worker.

Some prefer to weaken the unity of employees setting ones against others in order to better manipulate them. A factory is the worst place for political fights. Thus we are coming out in favour of one united front established by factory crews in presenting their rights and interests. Especially today when the radical reform firmly enters our life.

Zdzislaw Cackowski, CC member, a university lecturer, rector of the Maria Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin, said that he came out in favour of the implementation of the agreement offer.

Despite difficulties—we have trump cards. The new government is a trump card. A favourable international situation is a factor which helps us. The readiness of the

Catholic Church to dialogue is a great trump card for the party and for Poland. One should not overestimate this dialogue but one should not belittle it either.

Quite clearly conciliatory attitude of a big and significant part of the opposition, which is convinced that in the name of the security of changes taking place in Poland the main burden of power must and should continue to be placed on the party, is a significant trump card of the party and of Poland.

He who does not have any chance for participation in exercising power will not have any sense of responsibility even if he wishes it sincerely. And there is another thing which we should refer to ourselves. He who is exercising power with no sense of threat of losing it is not and cannot be responsible.

The 10th PUWP CC plenary meeting will resume its debates Tuesday morning.

Plenum Resumes 17 Jan

LD1701120989 Warsaw PAP in English 1004 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 17—The 10th PUWP CC Plenum resumed its debate here Wednesday under the chairmanship of PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski. The discussion continues.

The first to take the floor was CC Secretary Zygmunt Czarzasty who came out in favour of political and world outlook pluralism and endorsed the CC Political Bureau's stance on trade union pluralism. He said that this is a social need and not a gesture on the part of the authorities or the party. Social agreement should be reached in the interest of social peace, he said.

Proceedings for 17 Jan

LD1701144889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We now bring you a report on today's meeting of the second part of the 10th Central Committee Plenum. Today's discussion at the plenum was opened by Zygmunt Czarzasty, secretary of the party Central Committee and member of the Central Control and Auditing Commission.

[Begin Czarzasty recording] I wish to express strong support for the draft resolution and for the theses of the 10th plenum and speak out in favor of pluralism of views. [passage omitted]

I wish to speak today in favor of political pluralism. What is happening at the initiative of our party, what is being prepared by the government with regard to the draft law on associations is the introduction of political pluralism in the modern meaning of the word. [passage indistinct] Today we are of the opinion that everyone should be able to associate, along the general principles of observing the legal order. This is in accordance with human rights and aspirations. This is the condition [words indistinct].

I also support the Politburo stance on trade union pluralism. This issue is causing many heated arguments in Poland. Pluralism is a public need, not just a gesture by the party or the authorities. Simply put, it is the fulfillment of the aspirations of workers for other kinds of associations; but we must be aware that many doubts have arisen today on this subject, because we already had pluralism in 1980. We remember what it brought us. Only martial law could stop the mortal danger threatening Poland and the Poles. Soon after the martial law the October Law [on trade unions] stressed the will of the party and of the Sejm to establish trade unions which correspond with the wishes of the working people.

That is why today it is worth speaking frankly about it: Conditions must be laid down, specific conditions, arising from the legal order, guarantees for the republic and for peace in Poland. That is why today one must state that pluralism must succeed. There must be public agreement, an agreement of all Poles for the sake of peace and calm. This is what is required by Poland which is our supreme value. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] The next to speak was Bohdan Kolomyjski, the director in chief of the Katowice steelworks.

[Begin Kolomyjski recording] [passage omitted] A lot of controversy is generated by the issue of trade union pluralism. In debates there is concern that demands will escalate in order to gain supporters for a particular union, thus causing anarchy and arguments among work forces. On the other hand, approval is being given to the issue of national dialogue conducted at the roundtable, and it is thought that during this dialogue it will be possible to work out proper conditions for the gradual introduction of trade union pluralism. Personally, I am in favor of dialogue with the constructive opposition and of talks to resolve the question of trade unions, this being the effect of broadened and strengthened political pluralism. I am not going to offer arguments to justify this stance, because they have already been presented by several comrades, among others by Comrade Professor Cackowski and by Comrade Colonel Kwiatkowski.

In conclusion, I would like to state that party members are expecting a final definition of the path of socialist development of Poland which should take into consideration our experience and the experience of other socialist countries, as well as the achievements of the upcoming third national theoretical and ideological conference. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Wiktor Lis, member of the Central Committee and master craftsman at the Warsaw Rawar radio works, said:

[Begin Lis recording] Those who say I am an opponent of dialogue and agreement are wrong. Quite the contrary. I think that only by contrasting arguments can one find new ones. I am also convinced that the party, which is the leading force of the reform, creates conditions for political and economic activity for all, irrespective of their views. Anyone can realize their goals, however, there is one condition: They must not oppose national, systemic, constitutional, and alliance interests. I would like to mention one more issue because it concerns the comrades who have been party members for a long time. This concerns the period called Stalinism. I think that this term is used by some of the comrades as a smokescreen behind which anything can be hidden. One can also do a lot of damage by this. By abusing this expression without explanation, we are harming the party and many dedicated activists and patriots who created the peoples power and fought for freedom and for making peoples power permanent. This word, used without any explanation is associated with despotism, crime, red tape, and the abuse of power.

Does it apply to everyone? Of course not. But if we wish to be unambigious then let us do justice to those who were harmed and who died—soldiers and communists. Let us carry out an evaluation of what was good and what was bad, who was a patriot and a good Pole and who was guilty. This is what is being done by the Soviet comrades. Only a comprehensive assessment will satisfy some and uncover the true face of others. If this does not happen, Stalinism will continue to be an empty word. Let us evaluate the facts (?and not myths). The party needs a clear goal and not topics which will carry it away with talking. Consolidation is created through struggle and action and at the work bench. Let us not destroy what we have built with difficulty. If one does not have a roof over one's head, one finds it difficult to think about building. [end recording]

[Announcer] And here is an excerpt from the speech by Barbara Jackowska, member of the Central Committee and employee of the Jantar works.

[Jackowska] [passage omitted] I would like to deal now with the attitude of the Marxist party of religion and to believers who are also party members. We think—and this was confirmed at the seventh Central Committee plenum—that socialism does not mean a choice between religion and atheism. The party is above all a political force and, by its nature, a humane force. But the model of socialism assumes that without the active engagement of the religious people in the cause of creating and shaping socialism in Poland, it will not be possible to realize this new form of our fatherland. We know that relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church are developing well. However, how can one understand the role of the clergy who are making political gatherings out of their church congregations? Disapproval for this is expressed not only by party members but also by part of the public who are believers.

The party considers trade unions to be an actived partner in supporting reforms for the sake of achieving new solutions which are appropriate to the trade union movement. Comrade Miodowicz spoke about this yesterday. However, in spite of the experience of 1980-81, we are starting with the assumption that employee interests cannot be auctioned off. Such is the view of the majority of the comrades speaking on the subject of trade unions. This means that they are in favor of one trade union in every work enterprise. [end recording]

Rakowski Delivers Address

LD1701180489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1509 GMT 17 Jan 89

["Extensive excerpts" of speech by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at 17 January PZPR Central Committee Plenum session, in Warsaw—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, today, just as before, the principal question which we are facing is as follows: Is the party of the radical left in Poland, which is organized in thousands of basic party organizations, which functions on the basis of elected bodies strongly placed within the structures of the state and economic authorities, and which has an organized party apparatus at its disposal, capable of being a fighting force, a dynamic force which initiates the content and the direction of social and economic reforms which have become essential at the present stage of the development of socialism? The party debate in the past 3 weeks since the ending of the first part of the 10th plenum concerned this, fundamental issue.

I do not intend to evaluate this comprehensive debate because that would exceed the strength and capabilities of one person. But I believe it was mostly very concrete, realistic, and imbued with a sense of responsibility.

One can therefore say that, if not the whole party, then at least certainly the most active individuals, who make up an aktiv of many hundreds of thousands, have matured enough to look at reality, not on the basis of wishful thinking or discontent, but on the basis of facts brought by life itself. I am able to reach such a conclusion from my knowledge of the views expressed at numerous meetings in connection with questions which I asked during the first part of the plenum. It is obvious that, as the author of these questions, I cannot just limit myself to such a statement. The matter is far too serious to be shrugged off lightly by a few general statements. One must answer the question: What next? In spite of the fact that an answer to this is contained in the Central Committee draft stance which, obviously, I accept fully as a member of the party leadership. I think it is purposeful to share with you a few comments in my capacity as head of government, the government which is expected to continue energetically the program of social and economic reforms. However, before I do this, allow me to recall a few matters which are of historic importance—or if some prefer, of strategic importance.

One. Poland and its future, the party and its role and place in society, can all be imagined as a vehicle which has found itself at a sharp turn; whether it will manage to stay on the road or whether an accident will follow depends on how we, who are driving it, use the accelerator, brakes, and steering wheel.

Two. The end of a certain phase has arrived in the development of socialism and also of the idea of socialism, ideas about it, and methods of government. Anyone who doesn't understand that and thinks that one can wait and avoid a bold look at the world in which we live, is a sham Marxist.

Three. Marxism says that the system which creates more perfect conditions for economic progress is a better system. Either socialism will become such a system, as well as better satisfying political and life aspirations, particularly of the younger generation, or it will pass into history as an experiment which failed. Our political and ideological opponents also know that, not only in Poland but in the world.

Four. We are in a transitory period. It depends on us how that period will end in Poland—by entering new paths or by failure. New paths beckon, but also give rise to the fear of the new and unknown. It is easy to practice ostrich politics, but we cannot be ostriches.

Five. Those who believe that small corrections and improvements will assure that Poland will follow a socialist path of development and the party will maintain its role are mistaken. Speaking objectively, they are reconciled to failure, except that they have delayed it.

Six. No higher power guarantees that in the future development of Poland the PZPR will retain its leading role. That depends exclusively on us, on our ability to perceive the world, as well as problems in their entire complexity and also our ability to rid ourselves of narrowmindedness and egoism. It also depends on how much in the coming months and years the party becomes the spearhead in reforming the system, by deeds and not only by words.

In my political activity to date, I have not tried to hide my opinions from you comrades. This did not always turn out in my favor, even in this hall. Well today, too, I want to say that we are not yet that spearhead. Our opponents know that, and so they often expand far beyond the measure of their actual influence. The shadows of bad traditions can still be seen in our ranks. What shadows am I talking about here? There are a lot of them. Factional struggles, carried on with the pretext of staying faithful to dogma, a tendency to hold leaders in contempt, a tendency to treat people and their problems in a sectarian way, and above all an unberable sense of superiority toward everyone who does not share our views, and many other faults which do not augment our moral and poltiical strength, unfortunately have become a permanent feature in the tradition of the communist movement.

When giving you comrades a whole package of questions in the first part of the 10th plenum, I was guided by the need to keep in step with events which every day, month, and year bring. The questions, as we know, concerned above all matters linked with the vital need to take a clear, unambiguous stance regarding the constructive opposition, including that part of it which considers itself to be the heir or continuator of Solidarity, and regarding the opposition in general. What I said at the time was prompted by a sober assessment of the situation, as I understand it, of course, and the tasks facing us in the sphere of reforming the economy and social life. I want to add that in the discussion up to now—I mean yesterday's and today's—I have not discovered much about the grassroots reaction to those questions, and I know from elsewhere that those questions gave rise to a very lively and animated discussion.

I took part in a meeting with the aktiv in a Warsaw district. On my right hand sat a comrade who said: Comrade Rakowski, those are cruel questions. I asked why they were cruel. Because, he said, those questions did not arrive just since yesterday. And the comrade sitting on my left hand said: You know, Comrade Rakowski, there are lively discussions in party organizations. What are the reactions? Well, he said, the reactions are generally what was to be expected, not "no".

Esteemed comrades! Of all the possible paths which would ensure our reaching universally accepted economic goals we have chosen the middle road. That is, quick reforms but on the understanding that, as far as would be possible, we would keep the average level of real incomes; that there would be a decrease and not an increase in inflation in 1989.

Experience has shown that this middle course will not be easy to maintain. One must take into account the growing demands for pay rises, and negative reactions to essential price rises. Negative reactions are a euphemism, for we are talking of strikes and other violent and often uncontrolled expressions of social protest. Quite soon the government will confront the dilemma of whether—under the influence of justified or unjustified dissatisfaction stoked by various groups, including demagogic groups, with further pay demands, and so on—one should slow down the rate of reforms and temper the situation (?and progress) or to promote reforms to the very brink. I support an uncompromising attitude in the reform which has been accepted. That is, I support the associated risk. If once again we begin to give in as we have done in previous years—nothing will come of the reforms; they will become so slow and so inconsistent that they will not bring about any perceptible positive results in the years to come. Moreover, the explosion of dissatisfaction might take on such dimensions as to rule out any chance of achieving any kind of progress in reforming the economy—and therefore also socialism.

Risks are an objective necessity, they are the order of a given moment. The issue of national agreement is linked to risks. Quite simply, it is easier to make up one's mind to take a necessary risk when one is aware of acting within a society which is not at odds with itself, which is united around goals which as a nation we must reach. Today anyone who hinders the reaching of such an agreement takes upon himself a historic responsibility for the dramas which may yet take place in our homeland.

In this context I am considering the issue of political and union pluralism. The Central Committee's draft standpoint unambiguously specifies our attitude to those (?groups) which demand the establishment of real union pluralism and which understand this as the reconstruction of Solidarity on agreed terms. This standpoint, the draft of this standpoint, expresses a positive attitude to union pluralism, and to the de facto beginning of a process of gradually creating that organization which to this day functions in the underground. In essence, this means creation, but not recreation. This correct standpoint, (?in my opinion), resulting in the realistic evaluation of the development of the political situation in our country over the last few months and years, derives from the need to achieve visible progress on the road of construction of a real—I stress real—maximally wide platform of national accord.

One cannot, however, leave it at that. The idea of the renewed appearance of Solidarity in the social life of the country, as you comrades know, encounters resistance and fear in the party base. These are understandable. The point however, is that the experiences of 1981 are not just a historical phenomenon. They are a contemporary political phenomenon which may not be disregarded. The experiences are also a moral phenomenon—I have in mind here the experiences that many of our comrades lived through. All those who demand the return of Solidarity must understand this. Not only our party base but millions of nonparty citizens who with horror observed the destructive activities of many branches of Solidarity over the last few months of 1981—I say many but not all—must be certain that the Solidarity currently appearing will not again push Poland into the abyss of anarchy, unending strike alerts, strikes, all kinds of street demonstrations with negative intentions, and so forth. Before embarking on the process of legalization, the historic leaders of Solidarity must, reply to many questions that concern the party base and millions of nonparty people. Above all, they require a reply to the question of whether this new Solidarity sees itself as a constituent part of Polish socialism, whether it wants to actively and constructively influence the creation of the Polish character.

We must also obtain a clear reply to the question of what Solidarity really wants to be: Does it want to be a trade union or a social movement—in fact an opposition political party?

It will be important for Solidarity to express its position toward the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland], the Fighting Solidarity, and other extremist anticommunist groups. The attitude of Solidarity leaders to the financial support of its activity by the U.S. Congress and various anticommunikst organizations also remains a fundamental issue. Political customs in the civilized world views financing from outside as a criterion for an agency of a foreign state.

I want to be understood properly, also by those who today think that without the reinstatement of Solidarity there is no trade union pluralism. I have put all these issues in an unequivocal manner, for I am guided by the will to avoid any kind of understatement. The issues are too serious to allow understatement. The nature of the replies will determine whether we treat Solidarity as a partner, the consequence of which will be the opening of the process of legalization, or as a political opponent which defines itself in an unequivocal manner and against which ongoing political struggle must be waged.

We attach the greatest importance to the realization of the idea of partnership, because we regard it as a chance to build a political order which will guarantee the friendliest coexistence among Poles of different political opinions, based on mutual trust.

Esteemed comrades! In the approaching few years the economy will determine the material and spiritual condition of our nation and its place in Europe and the world. Its present state is unsatisfactory. There are areas of great threats in it. In order to overcome this unfavorable situation the economy needs peace and calm and order. Even the most efficient management of the great national wealth, created by the work of the committed generation of the first decade of people's Poland, as well as of the subsequent generations, and a choice of the most appropriate solutions, will not fulfill the hopes which fill our minds if the economy becomes an area for political struggles and demagogic activity. We should attempt to avoid the occurrence of such a situation. In connection with this, I consider it necessary to set a trial period for putting the idea of partnership into practice and to set a specific deadline, after which the accumulated experiences, both negative and positive, would enable the introduction of further changes in the direction of democratization. One could take 3 May 1991 as the final such deadline. That will be the 200th anniversary of the adoption of the famous Constitution. This would thus be a 2-year trial period. This approach would appropriately rest on a new social accord, whose participants should be all political parties, all currents in the union movement, and also representatives of the social organizations, clubs, and associations that count. A new social accord should be made up [words indistinct] of the most precisely specified principles describing the content and character of partnership, the principles obligatory for all its signatories, an agreed view on the character and range of socioeconomic reforms, the suspension of strikes in this period, and also the establishment of a civic body which would manage the solution of disputes arising between the partners.

Rakowski, Miodowicz in Exchange

LD1701201089 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] There have been many controversial discussions in the debating hall where the 10th plenum is being held. One of them took place between Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Alfred Miodowicz. Please listen to a short quote from this exchange of views.

[Begin recording] [Rakowski] If I were to squeeze out from all the documents which have been produced and published by our trade unions in the past few years—squeezed, that is, with just one thought in mind: to squeeze out everything which is connected with the rationalization of production, the decrease of administrative posts in enterprises, productivity of work, but in concrete terms, concrete I say, for I am not interested in generalizations since I have been fed quite enough of that—then it would turn out, my dear Alfred, that three-fourths of them are compensation demands and one-fourth—and not a whole one-fourth at that—are just underlining the role of trade unions in the socialist system with regard to stimulating production or organizing production. And that role does not have to mean that the unions are a transmission belt to the masses—I have in mind here that old saying. So let us give this some thought to what is going on.

Why do I mention this? Well, because I am quite willing to beat my breast. We have already done this once, so one has experience in this, doesn't one? In 1980-81. So I will willingly beat my breast today, but together, Comrade Alfred, all of us together, so that the whole of Poland can hear us.

[Miodowicz] Well, Comrade Mieczyslaw, since we are to beat our breasts together, then I shall start with that immediately. What are these trade unions to do? What are they for? Surely in order to defend the interests of working people, without a flush of embarrassment on the face. And what is the government for? It's to govern this country efficiently. And that is the difference between our functions, and the difference of opinion which will always exist between us, Comrade Mieczyslaw. [end recording]

The head of the trade unions used yet another argument. He recalled that when 18 months to 2 years ago a none too successful—as time has proved—variant of the prices and incomes policy was being born, the OPZZ prepared its own two-variant solution, an alternative program. But at the time these programs did not break through to public consciousness; as Alfred Miodowicz said, they were disseminated within the so-called second circulation [illegal publishing], but they did not find any official representation.

And just one more element of these polemics: Mieczyslaw Rakowski felt hurt by the speech made yesterday by Alfred Miodowicz, and in particular by that part of it in which Alfred Miodowicz accused the government of not representing the interests of the working class. The premier here used the following arguments: that, after all, actions in environmental protection are actions which benefit the whole nation and therefore also the working class; that the repayment of our large debt, or at least the interest on it—and that amounts to billions annually—is also an action directed toward getting us out of a hole and therefore directed at making all of us live better. He made an appeal that, when suspecting the government of not representing the interest of the working class, people should take a pencil in hand and count very meticulously and only then pass sentence.

So much for today's discussion.

Closed Session on Pluralism

LD1701232089 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] At a closed session the participants of the second part of the 10th Party Central Committee Plenum are discussing the resolution and standpoint on the matter of political and union pluralism.

Earlier, inter alia, attention was drawn to the fact that the strengthening of the party depends on its fundamental reconstruction. This will be favored perhaps by the inclusion in party work of informal leaders from among work labor forces and social milieux.

Jaruzelski Vote of Confidence

LD1801033989 Warsaw PAP in English 0329 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 18—The plenary discussion of the PUWP CC meeting behind closed doors ended at 03:00 [0200 GMT] this morning here. In an unequivocal (with four abstentions) vote the Central Committee granted vote of confidence to the party's supreme authorities led by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Next the Central Committee unanimously adopted the resolution of the 10th plenary meeting. With a majority of votes the committee approved the stand of the Central Committee on political pluralism and union pluralism.

Commentary on 10th PZPR Plenum

LD1801102789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Commentary by Marek Lewicki]

[Text] The party set a difficult task for itself at the 10th plenum: to define such directions and ways to restructure the political life which would correspond to the real social needs—the objective ones, the ones felt by the people, and, finally, those which are demanded by the party's coalition allies, as well as other groups and orientations including the so-called constructive opposition. What is more, realistically assessing its state and possibilities, the party decided to radically reform itself. It sees in it a condition for regaining the lead in the new, much more complex situation. If one takes into account the fact that many Polish differences are reflected within the party, which of course is part of the same pluralistic society, it is understandable that the plenum was heated.

As a result of long proceedings, with an interval provided by a broad public consultation, not only two breakthrough documents—as they are described—were created: the resolution and standpoint on the issue of pluralism. A new quality, however, also appeared in the party's functioning practice: It is dynamism which makes its ideological identity and pro-reform political orientation more meaningful, and, at the same time, it draws energy from real social forces released by the restructuring processes.

Lech Walesa Holds 5 Jan News Conference

AU1701171689 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
14 Jan 89 p 6

[Unsigned report on news conference given by Lech Walesa at St Brygida's Church in Gdansk on 5 January: "Lech Walesa's News Conference"]

[Text] Lech Walesa held his first press conference for foreign and Polish journalists at St Brygida's Church on 5 January. Among those present were Father Jankowski and Andrzej Gwiazda, who was accompanied by several less well-known people from the so-called working group of the Solidarity National Commission. Passages from statements made by Walesa that refer directly to an earlier report [see item headlined "More on Walesa's 5 Jan News Conference" published in the 11 January edition of the EAST EUROPE DAILY REPORT] appear below.

[Question] Do you consider that the setting up of the Solidarity National Commission working group represents a split in Solidarity, and do you intend to call a meeting of the national commission by 31 January as the group has demanded? [Lech Walesa] As always, I think that there many ways of reaching the same goal. That is why I have no monopoly on wisdom, or victory. I have always been guided by the same thing, by what I am and what I have been known for. I do not intend to abandon this line of struggle for Solidarity and for what my circles consider to be right. I wish everyone else all the best.

[Question] Could you give us your opinion of those elements of the working group's program that you are familiar with?

[Walesa] I am not particularly familiar with them. I regret that many activists do something very wrong, that they even take me—the chairman—by surprise, that they think that I have a monopoly on wisdom. I am talking about old affairs, I am not particularly familiar with new affairs. This issue has not just appeared today. I repeat once again that I have no monopoly on wisdom. If someone usurps particular rights for himself, then he is not a democrat, and that is not the way that people should behave in our movement.

[Question] Does this split, that has occurred in Solidarity as a result of the actions of Gwiazda's group, threaten the unity of Solidarity?

[Walesa] I do not want to fight anybody. I am capable of putting an end to this process in a day. I have not done so, and I will not do so. I think that there are many paths. However, I consider some moves that damage Solidarity to be lacking in seriousness. That is what these movements are like, but they really only constitute a fringe element that does not represent a danger. I even need them, because if they did not exist, Lech Walesa would have to become more radical at a certain point, he would have to play at being the radical. They benefit me, and that is why I tolerate them. I will tolerate them as long as they do not pose a threat to Poland and Solidarity. If they do begin to pose a threat, I will simply eliminate them.

[Question] This suggests that you are an advocate of unity in the workers movement?

[Walesa] No, today we are not just fighting for the existence of political, economic, and social pluralism for me or for Solidarity, but for their existence in Poland. That is why hindering the main direction of the struggle harms reforms in Poland. In light of this, I intend to make it difficult to hinder that struggle, but not to make it difficult for these groups to exist. These and other groups will be needed later. They will have a right and even a duty to exist. However, what we are fighting for today is to make it possible for these groups to exist. Let them even call themselves radicals, but they should not interfere in the efforts to bring about the restoration of Solidarity, in the reforms, and in the struggle, which requires a great amount of energy in order to achieve one thing: pluralism in all matters. What I am doing is laying the groundwork. They are hindering Walesa [as published] more than the security services. They are parodying our struggle, and driving each other on. In order to do so, they dupe naive young people, who have a right and a duty to fight. Young people are having a bad time. They want to fight for their apartments, for the right to organize themselves, and political con-men are creating divisions among them and pulling the wool over their eyes. I just do not like that kind of thing. I do not block any opportunities for anyone, and please do not do that to me. Do not hinder the main struggle, and do not hoodwink young people. Do not try to con them into thinking that someone is afraid, that someone does not want to do anything, that someone is coming to arrangement with the authorities. I do not have to do that. These arguments are really worse than those of the security services. I am ashamed that I once worked with these people. I am ashamed of them as colleagues.

[Question] Are you and all of Solidarity not making a mistake, as young workers saw the setting up of a civic committee as another attempt by you to cut yourself off from them?

[Walesa] These wheeler-dealers have exploited a fine, wise, and noble issue to say that Lech Walesa has cut himself off from the workers. That is why Lech Walesa is returning to the workers on 15 January. He will work with them physically. He is not afraid of work. He always was, is, and will remain among the workers. However, he will fight everywhere, along with every group, and would even enter into a pact with the devil to recover pluralism, freedom, and Solidarity. These people should not try to hinder things. I bring together people such as Penderecki, people who do not in any way need Walesa or however great he may be. They are greater than me. If I unite them in the struggle for Solidarity, for help for Poland, for solutions, for programs, and then these unscrupulous wheeler-dealers exploit this and say that I have cut myself off, then that it is nothing more than common meanness. That I is why protest against this kind of thing. They are riding on the backs of heroic, courageous workers. They are encouraging people to fight for who knows what. I am going back to the shipyard on 15 January, and I will drive out all these conmen who are hindering the struggle for Solidarity. The shipyard will fight for its existence. It will fight with all its strength, but it will do so wisely, without causing splits, and without behaving foolishly. I agree to that, and I will join the workers by working and acting.

Illegal Student Union Organizes Demonstration

LD1701213289 Warsaw PAP in English
2032 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 17—A demonstration organized by the illegal NZS Independent Students Union was held at the main gate of Warsaw University this afternoon.

A group of about 300 young people demanded the legalization of the union and a change of the law on higher education. These demands were accompanied by shouts of "down with the communists" and dissemination of leaflets.

Traffic at Krakowskie Przedmiescie, the adjacent street, was temporarily disorganized. A group of youths attempted to leave the university premises, carrying slogans of NZS and the KPN (Confederation for Independent Poland). The arrival of law enforcement forces resulted in the demonstrators dispersing.

Leaflets signed by WIP (Freedom and Peace) were also disseminated in other parts of central Warsaw.

Lodz Textile Plant Workers Stage Strike

LD1701202389 Warsaw PAP in English
2046 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Lodz, Jan. 17—Three-day negotiations between the management of the Pabianice Technical Fabric Works and a initiative strike group have brought no results and starting from the second shift on January 17, a sit-in strike is under way at the plant.

The strike group, in the name of the 1,100-strong crew, demanded monthly wage rises by 25 thousand zloties per employee and the registration of "Solidarnosc."

A several-hundred group of strikers is inside the works. All machines have been brought to a standstill.

Security Services Opposition Party Briefing

LD1601122989 Hamburg DPA in German
1157 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Officials of the Polish security service in Warsaw today prevented a news conference by leaders of the opposition, the national-oriented Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN]. They occupied the residence of KPN leader Leszek Moczulski and politely disclosed to Polish and Western journalists as they entered that they wanted "to protect Mr Moczulski from an infringement of the law." Moczulski announced in their presence that the meeting with the press would take place at a later date.

The news conference was due to take place before a congress of this organization scheduled for 4 and 5 February; it sees itself as a political party. The location of the congress has not yet been announced, for security reasons. The leadership of the organization invited representatives of the state administration and journalists from the official Polish press to these deliberations. KPN says it has more than 1,600 active members.

ZSL Supreme Committee on Internal Issues

LD1701234689 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 2200 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Excerpts] The Supreme Committee Presidium of the United Peasants' Party has familiarized itself with the course of the meeting and with the decisions of the Central Cooperation Commission of the PZPR, ZSL, and the Democratic Party. The sociopolitical and economic situation of the country was assessed. [passage omitted]

The Supreme Committee Presidium favors strengthening efforts to bring about the roundtable talks, the construction of planes of dialogue, and accord with all social forces and orientations that recognize as the supreme matter the good and success of Poland. It favors the widening of planes of co-decision and co-responsibility. The Presidium favors qualitative changes in the coalition of the PZPR, ZSL, and SD and also favors an urgent joint plenary meeting devoted to coalition matters.

It was stated that one of the urgent problems whose solution would have a positive influence on the social atmosphere and on trust in the government is the question of the legal recognition of the factually existing union pluralism. It was also stressed that an important plane for social dialogue should also be the discussion on changes in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. [passage omitted]

SCINTEIA Comments on CSCE Final Document

AU1801120189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1032 GMT 18 Jan 89

[From the press review]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18/1/1989—The article "For a United Europe of Peace, Security and Collaboration" written in relation to the conclusion of the all-European reunion in Vienna, daily SCINTEIA stresses that inspired by the wish to contribute to the signing of accords and understandings conducive to greater confidence and security and to the amplification of multilateral collaboration in the continent, Romania presented at the reunion a number of constructive proposals regarding essential questions on which the future of Europe depends. Reviewing the leading provisions of the final document endorsed in Vienna, the daily sets forth the special importance of the understanding reached on opening negotiations on curbing the conventional armed forces and arms, and on the actions envisaged to enhance the collaboration and development in the areas of economy, science, technology and environmental protection. As concerns the human rights issue, notes SCINTEIA, the final document of the Vienna reunion carries a number of important provisions with which Romania agrees. Yet, regrettably in the document there have not been written down adequately, as firm committments on the part of the states, some proposals of this country, regarding a number of fundamental principles of human rights and humanitarian questions, such as providing the right to work and to eradicating unemployment, the right to equal pay for equal work, creating adequate housing conditions for each family, wide access of the whole population to the gains of science and technology. At the same time the daily shows that some of the provisions in the final document are of a nature to open the way to interference in the domestic affairs of other states, trespassing national independence and sovereignty, and may stimulate and encourage obscurantist and retrograde activities and manifestations. All these aspects, reminds the daily, are stressed in the statement of the Socialist Republic of Romania in relation to the final document, which was released as a document of the reunion.

Ceausescu Receives Japanese Communist Delegation

AU1701192989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1813 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 17/1/1989—On Tuesday, January 17, the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu, received the delegation of the Japanese Communist Party, headed by Mitsuhiro Kaneko, member of the Standing Presidium, head of the Secretariat of the CC of the Japanese Communist Party, now on a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

On the occasion, the chief delegate handed over a message and conveyed Nicolae Ceausescu, on behalf of the chairman of the CC of the Japanese Communist Party, Kenji Miyamoto, a comradely salute and best wishes of success in his entire activity.

Thanking, Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed Kenji Miyamoto and the leadership of the Japanese Communist Party, on his own behalf and on behalf of the RCP leadership, a warm salute and best wishes.

During the talk high appreciation was given to the relations of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Japanese Communist Party, to their cooperation in the fight against the policy of arming, of force and of threat of force in international relations, for disarmament and peace, for the creation of a broad anti-imperialist, antinuclear front. In that context, emphasis was placed on the special importance of the joint declaration adopted in 1987 by the leaders of the two parties, stressing that the course of the international events proved the justness of the appreciations made in that document and the realist vision on the need to intensify the peoples' fight against the danger of a nuclear war.

The two parties' wish was also expressed to further act for the strengthening and development of these ties, in the interests of both peoples, of the cause of peace, detente and international collaboration.

Opinions were exchanged regarding the main aspects of the international situation.

President Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that, in general, no radical changes took place in international life, the situation remaining complex, contradictory and grave. Under these circumstances, all peoples, the communist and worker parties, the democratic and progressive parties everywhere should concert their efforts to achieve disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, to settle the states of conflict and tension in various parts of the world by peaceful means, through negotiations, to solve the serious economic issues facing the developing countries, to liquidate exploitation and oppression, and to solve the fundamental problems of concern to the people's life, in the developed countries included.

During the talks, emphasis was placed on the need to develop and strengthen collaboration and solidarity between the communist and worker parties, on the basis of full equality, respect for every party's right to self-reliantly set its political line, according to the specific conditions in every country, without any outside interference.

The RCP general secretary showed that a scientific, realistic analysis should be made by every party, in the spirit of the revolutionary, materialist-dialectical outlook, of current problems so as to give a just orientation and a clear perspective to the fight for the attainment of the people's aspirations after economic and social progress, socialism and peace, a better and more just world.

The interview was attended by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Nicolae Mihai, deputy head of section of the CC of the RCP.

Also present were Eizo Kabayashi and Yasuo Ogata, members of the Standing Presidium of the CC of the Japanese Communist Party, and Udo Masaharu, member of the CC of that party.

PLO's 'Arafat Thanks Ceausescu for Greetings

AU1701081989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jan 89 p 5

[Cable by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat to President Nicolae Ceausescu thanking the latter for congratulations on the Palestinian Revolution Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania,

I received with great pleasure the congratulatory message extended to me on the 24th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution Day.

On behalf of the Palestinian people, the PLO Executive Committee members, and myself personally, I would like to extend to you personally, to the Romanian party and Government, and to the friendly Romanian people my feelings of warm gratitude and high appreciation for the constant and principled support granted to the just struggle waged by our people to achieve their inalienable rights, including the right to return, self-determination, and the creation of an independent state, a support which was reiterated in your kind message.

Much esteemed Comrade President Nicolae Ceausescu, the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, highly value your sincere and tireless efforts aimed at establishing a just, lasting, and global peace in our area and at convening an international peace conference on the Middle East.

Through the recent resolutions adopted by the Palestinian National Council at its 19th extraordinary session, our people have made clear their realistic and rational policy as well as their desire to reach a just peace. This policy was explained in detail in my speech to the UN General Assembly, which met recently in Geneva to examine the Palestinian problem.

In the Palestinian peace initiative, I stated that peace in the Middle East must rely on the calling of a UN-sponsored international peace conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all sides involved in the conflict—including the PLO, on an equal footing with the other sides—as well as the five permanent Security Council members, on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338 and of our people's right to self-determination.

To facilitate the peace progress, I also proposed the convening of a committee to prepare the international conference and the placing of the occupied Palestinian territories under UN protection for a short period of time, so as to save the Palestinian people from the yoke of Israeli occupation and establish our independent state on the territory of Palestine.

Having started the 25th year of the Palestinian revolution, I would like to assure you that the support enjoyed by the Palestinian people's ceaseless struggle and popular uprising against the occupation among all freedom-, justice-, and peace-loving countries, nations, and forces strengthen our resolution to continue the struggle aimed at ending the occupation and creating an independent state.

In conclusion, I would like to express our ardent gratitude for the support granted to us by friendly Romania and yourself personally and for Romania's recognition of the independent Palestinian state, which highlights the ties of friendship, cooperation, and militant solidarity established between our peoples.

I express the conviction that our relations will continue to develop in the future, too, in the interest of our two peoples and of the cause of progress, peace, and security in the world.

Please receive our wishes of personal health, happiness, and long life, so as to lead friendly Romania along the road of progress and well-being.

Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and Supreme Commander of the Palestinian Revolutionary Forces

Olteanu in Madrid for Communist Party Congress

Meets PCE's Ibarruri

AU1301131089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1817 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Madrid AGERPRES, 13/1/1989—From Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, and from Elena Ceausescu, Dolores Ibarruri, president of the Communist Party of Spain [PCE], was conveyed a warm comradely salute and best wishes of good health, long life and personal happiness.

Expressing best thanks, Dolores Ibarruri asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu be conveyed a cordial salute and best wishes of good health, happiness and success in the entire activity.

The exchange of messages took place when the president of the Communist Party of Spain received Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, in Madrid to attend the works of the congress of unification of the Communist Party of Spain and the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain.

Meets PCE General Secretary

AU1301131189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1819 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Madrid AGERPRES, 13/1/1989—A cordial salute and best wishes of good health and success in activity were conveyed from Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, to Julio Anguita, secretary-general of the Communist Party of Spain [PCE], when the latter received Constantin Olteanu.

Julio Anguita thanked and conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu a warm message of friendship, as well as best wishes of good health, happiness and new successes in his activity as head of the Romanian party and state, for the successful building of the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania.

During the talks held on the occasion, mutual information was exchanged on the current activity and concerns of the two parties, and the mutual wish was expressed to further develop the traditional links of solidarity and cooperation between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Spain, in the interests of strengthening the friendship and collaboration between the Romanian and Spanish peoples, between Romania and Spain, the unity of all revolutionary and democratic forces, in the struggle for social progress, freedom and independence, for peace, disarmament and security in Europe and the world over. Views were also exchanged on issues of the international life and of the communist and worker movement.

Conveys RCP Message

AU1401201789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 14 Jan 89

["Message Addressed by the RCP to the Unification Congress of the Communist Parties of Spain"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/01/1989—The participants in the proceedings of the Unification Congress of the Communist Party of Spain and the Communist Party of the Spanish People were addressed a warm message of friendship and solidarity on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party and its Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu by Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, representative of the RCP at the congress.

The decision of the Spanish Communists to rebuild and strengthen their political and organizational unity under the Communist Party of Spain, a party of old, heroic revolutionary tradition, reads the message, is of great importance for improving the influence and role of the party in the Spanish political life, its ability to act and safeguard the fundamental interests of the working people, for the implementation of deep-going renewing changes in society, for democracy and independence.

Setting out from the supreme interests of the working class, of the working people in all the countries, the RCP opines that preserving and strengthening its unity is a vital necessity for each party, for its ever stronger assertion in the national political life, for enhancing its contribution to the struggle for democracy and social progress, for peace, disarmament and international collaboration.

Stressing that the RCP and the Romanian state are permanently concerned to provide conditions for the successful progress of the socialist construction work, while also participating actively in the effort to help the assertion of the policy of peace, disarmament and collaboration among nations, the message presents the views of the Romanian Communist Party as concerns the leading international issues. The fundamental question of this epoch is the implementation of disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, safeguarding the peoples' supreme right to existence, peace and a free and dignified life, reads the message. It also stresses that imperiously necessary is an intensification of the struggle and firm action of all the progressive, realistic and anti-imperialist forces, of people everywhere, with a view to causing a radical change in the international life.

Setting out from the role and responsibility incumbent today on the revolutionary, progressive forces, the Romanian Communist Party works consistently to strengthen the collaboration and solidarity with all the communist and workers' parties, based on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for independence and noninterference in the domestic affairs, on each party's right to work self-dependently its political line, its revolutionary ways and means, in keeping with the concrete circumstances in its country, reads the message in conclusion.

Coman Conveys RCP Message to Portuguese Socialists

AU1401210189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2019 GMT 14 Jan 89

["Message of Salute Addressed by RCP to Congress of Portuguese Socialist Party"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/01/1989—On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party, of General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, the participants in the Congress of the Portuguese Socialist Party were presented a message of salute by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, representative of the RCP at the Congress.

Good relations of friendship and collaboration exist and grow between the RCP and the Portuguese Socialist Party, based on mutual esteem and respect, and we express the confidence that these relations will witness continuous development and deepening for the benefit of the amplification and strengthening of the ties between Romania and Portugal, between the Romanian people and the Portuguese one, reads the message.

Pointing out that the RCP, Socialist Romania participate actively in the effort to find solutions to the current international problems, the message shows that although a number of positive steps have been made toward disarmament and diminishing tension in the hotbeds of tension, the international situation continues to be grave, complex and contradictory, that a radical change has not yet been made in point of diminishing the arms race and consolidating detente. The Romanian Communist Party considers that the fundamental question of this epoch is the implementation of disarmament, nuclear in the first place, safeguarding the people's supreme right to life, peace, a free and dignified existence.

Romania works for strengthened confidence and collaboration among the states in the European Continent, for a united Europe with different social systems, for peace and collaboration. We work for turning the Balkans into a zone of peace, collaboration and good neighborliness, free of nuclear and chemical arms, free of foreign military bases, reads the message. We consistently speak up for solving conflicts and litigious issues in various parts of the world exclusively by political means, according to the fundamental interests of the respective peoples and states, of the cause of international peace and collaboration. Our party and state work constantly to solve the questions of underdevelopment, inclusive of the foreign debt of the developing countries, for setting in a new international economic order.

Although the current world problems are complex and grave, we are convinced that through the joint action of peoples, of all the progressive forces there can be imposed a new thinking, a change in the practices of international relations, which should provide the assertion of new democratic relations in the world, based on respect for national independence and sovereignty, fully equal rights, renunciation of force or of the threat of force, providing a better and more just world on this planet, concludes the message.

Ceausescu Chairs Meeting With Cadres 9-10 Jan

AU1001220289 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Upon the initiative of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, on 9-10 January, working meetings per groups of counties were held at the RCP Central Committee, devoted to the examination of issues regarding the fulfillment of plan provisions for 1988, particularly in the agriculture and food industry, and to measures to be taken to appropriately fulfill the objectives for January, the first quarter, and the whole year 1989.

Leading cadres in ministries and central institutions, first secretaries and secretaries in charge of agricultural issues of county party committees, first vice chairmen of county people's councils, and other cadres who hold responsible offices in counties participated in the debates.

Yesterday, at the end of the proceedings, under the chairmanship of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu a working meeting with the participants in these discussions was held at the headquarters of the RCP Central Committee.

Taking the floor during the meeting, the RCP Secretary General, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu noted that in 1988, a number of important results have been obtained in increasing agricultural production, although the plan provisions have not been completely fulfilled. Some counties obtained production much below the level of their potential. The speaker criticized the shortfalls that had occurred in connection with harvesting the crops on schedule and completely honoring the contracts for delivering products to the state centralized fund. Proceeding from this situation, he requested the first secretaries of the county party committees to take the most responsible actions and see to it that in the coming days the activity of delivering to and taking over the products by the contracting bodies the whole amount of reported agricultural products should be concluded. Only by ensuring the complete delivery to the state centralized fund—said the party secretary general—can the population's consumption needs be appropriately ensured, in accordance with the self-sufficiency program, and the other needs of the national economy.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu requested that all the necessary conclusions from last year's agricultural activity be drawn and work be organized in such a way that in 1989 the harvesting will be carried out in the shortest time possible, by making maximum use of all available means. Concurrently, with the conclusion of harvesting, the storing and the appropriate delivery of the crops should also be concluded. Likewise, he also asked that contracts be drawn by each agricultural unit and be discussed during the upcoming working people's general meetings. Particular attention will have to be paid to concluding the activity of concluding contracts with the population for various agricultural products: cattle, pigs, sheep, milk, grapes, fruit, wool, and others, by strictly observing norms and legal provisions. In connection with these issues, the party secretary general very seriously drew attention to the fact that all contracts should be concluded for all products by the end of February at the latest, in accordance with the plan provision, by applying the law that clearly defines both the obligation of the contracting and the products for which contracts have to be drawn up.

He stressed the need to take firm measures to completely fulfill the planned agricultural products in order to ensure the needs of the state fund for supply with produce and fodder, and increased production, which make possible the increase of the amount of agricultural products that will be used for payment in kind to cooperative workers.

Further, the party secretary general referred to the importance of thoroughly preparing and appropriately carrying out the current agricultural operations. In the coming days, the ploughing of the whole area planned for sowing, the preparation of the soil, the application of natural fodder, and soil liming should be concluded. Each county and each agricultural unit should pay particular attention to maintaining and ensuring the appropriate operation of all irrigation systems. It was established that by 20 February all tractors and the other agricultural machinery that will have to be used in the spring campaign should be completely repaired in order to be used at maximum capacity. At the same time, he requested that the system of animal traction should be developed, particularly for an important part of the transportation. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that in 1989 we should produce the best crops yet.

Further, the party secretary general referred to a number of issues connected with the improvement of the activity in industry, investments, and in the field of exports. Noting that in 1988 the results have been generally satisfactory, although below the level of the plan provisions, the party secretary general stressed the need to take all possible measures and fulfill all plan indicators as early as the first year of 1989. We will have to ensure primarily the production earmarked for exports and in the first 20 days of January we should send our foreign partners the products included in the outstanding contracts from December last year.

Referring to the situation of the stocks of products earmarked for exports—which is still very large—Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu requested that the most decisive measures be taken to capitalize, without delay, on these products by completing the customs formalities and delivering them to the foreign partners.

Regarding the investments, the party secretary general requested that activity in this field be increased in order to conclude all the planned objectives on schedule. He also recommended that the outstanding investments from last year be added to the 1989 plan, including the funds and all the provisions for their fulfillment, and all the outstanding production capacities from 1988 be put into operation during this quarter, by 1 March.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu also noted that measures should be taken to completely fulfill the housing plan for this year concurrently with the completion of the outstanding apartments from 1988 in the first semester of the current year. He very seriously drew attention to the need to take measures to implement the housing program. The dwelling construction plan can be exceeded but it is obligatory to primarily fulfill the established plan. Mentioning that all the necessary conditions for the plan fulfillment for all the plan indicators have been created, the party secretary general insisted on the requirement for firm actions at all levels to strictly observe the approved norms, continuously reduce the consumption of raw and other materials, and energy, reintroduce the reusable materials in the production flow, make complete use of machines and equipment, and make most efficient use of the labor force and labor time. He drew attention to the need to implement the programs for organizing and modernizing production processes and perfecting manufacturing technologies, with a view toward improving the quality of products and efficiency of the whole activity.

The plan for January and the first quarter has been established with ministries per central departments and enterprises, stressed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, starting from the clear provision that we should fulfill the production for which we concluded contracts, in accordance with our production capacities. As a matter of fact, the plan should be in accordance with our production capacities. Each unit should ensure the drawing of domestic and exports contracts, and we should include in contracts goods that we have for sale in accordance with the requirements of the market. Thus, we can say that we combine the plan, starting from the production capacities and from what we are able to produce, with the requirements of the market, meaning both the domestic market in accordance with the general needs and the people's consumption and the foreign market, in accordance with the concluded contracts. We cannot conceive the management of the economy without strict evidence of the utilization of capacities on the basis of contracts. I draw attention to this issue, stressed the party secretary general, because this is a fundamental issue of modernizing and perfecting the activity of economic management and of increasing economic efficiency. Therefore, we should most seriously be concerned with the issues of material and energy consumption, not in general terms but in a concrete way in each sector and per each product. The problem of reducing the exaggerated consumption in the energy production and of losses in the grid, and in general, of firmly reducing energy and material consumption is a problem of the greatest importance for our national economy, said Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. He stressed the need to fulfill the programs of using unconventional energy resourses: biogas, solar energy, thermal waters, wind, and other such resources.

Addressing leading cadres in counties, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said that, as of this year we proceed to the elaboration of socioeconomic development plans per counties, towns, and communes, as part of the general socioeconomic development plan, so that each locality and each county should have prospects for its socioeconomic development and for ensuring increasingly better living and civilization conditions for all its inhabitants.

Within this framework, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the need that the drafting and establishing of these development and modernization plans and programs should be widely discussed with the citizens of the respective localities. Only on this basis of the broad discussions with citizens should appropriate measures be adopted for the development and modernization of the localities of our country.

During the meeting, the party secretary general placed a particular stress on the need to take actions to continuously strengthen socialist property, as a sure base for the many-sided progress of the homeland, for perfecting activity in the entire economy, and strengthening responsibility, order and work discipline in all sectors. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that it is necessary that all counties draw the appropriate conclusions and continuously perfect the methods and style of work and increase the spirit of responsibility in all fields of activity. It is not enough to talk about a revolutionary spirit and make pledges, but we must work with utmost responsibility. The activity of each of us, of the county committees, of the people's councils or party organizations is valued in accordance with the way in which they solve problems and the way in which they ensure the socioeconomic development and the way in which they work in order to fulfill the plans and programs for socialist construction and improve the people's standard of living.

In conclusion, the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his belief that the party bodies and organizations, the Communists, and all the working people will continue to work with responsibility and in a revolutionary spirit to appropriately fulfill the plan for 1989 and the objectives of the current 5-year plan and to obtain superior results in all fields of activity.

Let us all do all we can and see to it that this year, the year of the 45th anniversary of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and of the 14th RCP Congress we achieve the greatest production in industry, agriculture, and all the fields of activity, and on this basis we raise the general level of material and cultural standard of living of our whole nation and ensure Romania's firm advance on the road of socialism and communism.

Meeting of Political Executive Committee 13 Jan

AU1601152489 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] Under the chairmanship of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the RCP met on Friday, 13 January.

The Executive Political Committee considered and approved the measures for the fulfilment of the plan for January and the first quarter of the year 1989.

Generally, the results of the first 10 days of this year are better than during the same period last year, it was shown, which emphasizes the working people's determination to meet the provisions for 1989. However, deficiencies were shown to persist in the work of ministries, central departments, and enterprises, which explains why the performance during that period of time fell short of the plan, of the existing possibilities.

Duly considering the performance and especially the shortfalls, as well as the conclusions of the recent analyses made during the working meetings at the Central Committee of the RCP Headquarters, General Secretary Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu urged the government, the ministries, the central departments, the economic units, the party organs, and the organizations to take prompt measures for a thorough organization of work, for a proper production flow, for the strengthening of the sense of order, discipline, and responsibility in all fields, for the broad mobilization of the working collectivities to recoup all arrears in the second decade of January and get back in step with the plan and even top the January plan. Action was shown to be required for a paced fulfillment of the plan of physical production, first of all of the production for export, of all plan indicators.

The party general secretary laid special emphasis on the strict observance of the approved norms, the further reduction of the raw and subsidiary material and energy demands, operation of all units, machines and equipment at capacity, on the demand to make the most of the work force and work time, more markedly to raise productivity and economic efficiency. Foremost attention is required to translate into life the program of improving production organization and modernizing production, raising its performance and quality.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu urged the ministries, central departments, and enterprises to check daily the fulfilment of the plan, to operationally solve all the problems on which the plan for January, the first quarter, and the whole year depend. The party general secretary stressed that the fulfilment of all January plan indicators is essential for a good activity for the fulfilment of the plan for this year.

Looking into further aspects of the economic activity, the Executive Political Committee analyzed a program of completing and commissioning overdue industrial and housing projects.

Stress was laid in context on the demand of a higher pace of work at all construction sites, greater order and discipline, and better organization of building and assembly activities so that all productive units planned for last year should start operating before May Day at the latest. Starting from the fact that, generally, the failure to complete some investment projects was chiefly due to the fact that technological equipment was not delivered on time and construction-assembly work was delayed, the machine-building ministries were urged to better organize their work and deliver all the equipment for the overdue investment projects no later than the month of March.

Furthermore, firm measures were shown to be required for the fulfilment of the housebuilding program for 1989, all while recouping the 1988 arrears in the first half of this year. A proper monthly phasing-out of investment was required so that all housebuilding planned for the current year should start by the month of June and the housebuilding sites for 1990 be opened in the closing months of the year, November and December.

Similarly, industrial investment should also be phased out on a monthly basis to rationally use the work force potential and ensure a regular pace of work.

On foreign trade, the Executive Political Committee analyzed the program of recouping the arrears in the last year's production for export and of applying the export duties to the production in stock as on 31 December 1988. Given the fact that that program was discussed in detail with all manufacturing ministries, firm measures were set for the manufacture of all overdue production for export until 20 January and the fulfilment of the export tasks for January as well. All enterprises with export tasks will have to make the best possible use of the production capacities and the work time so that all the contracts with foreign partners be honoured at a high level of quality and on time.

Furthermore, starting from the fact that all the problems related export tasks and the delivery of the production for export in stock had been made clear during the analyses by ministries, most energetic action was urged for a strict observance of the program of eliminating the stocks, for export duties to be laid on all products to deliver them in the course of January and February, and export activities resume their normal pace.

The Executive Political Committee analyzed and approved a report on the raise in the working people's pay and pensions over 1 August 1988-1 January 1989.

It was stressed that in the first phase spanning 1 August-1 October 1988 more than 2.5 million working people had their pay raised. Monthly remunerations between 1,500 and 2,000 were raised to 2,001-2,400. That brought the lowest monthly nominal remuneration from 1,500 to 2,000, an average 33 percent increase. In the second phase spanning 1 November 1988-1 January 1989, monthly pays falling in the 2,001-2,250 lei bracket were raised by some 20 percent, to 2,401-2,650 lei benefitting some 1.9 million working people. Overall, more than 4.4 million working people, or nearly 60 percent of the total, had their pay raised in the first two phases. The pay raise brought the working people an extra 5.8 billion lei in income.

Besides, the working people's income in the month of December 1988 was by 1.7 billion lei higher, the money representing 50 percent of the working people's last year production manufacture, profit and profit-sharing fund.

According to the decisions, the pay raise shall be resumed on 1 March and is due to end on 1 August 1989. During this period pays will be raised, gradually, by branches and activities, so, beginning with the month of August 1989, all people working in the economy will have their pay raised. By the end of the pay-raise drive, the average pay in the economy will be 3,000 lei. In 1989, the working people will make an extra 24.4 billion lei in higher incomes and in 1990, when all working people benefit by one full year's higher pay, they will make 29 billion lei in higher incomes.

Pensions were raised over 1 August-31 December 1988 by a differing percentage, the lower pensions being increased by 45.5 percent. The number of people benefitting from higher pensions totalled 801.5 thousand and their extra incomes are put at 300 million lei. In March 1989, state social security pensions for length of service and old age in the 1,501-3,000 lei bracket are to be raised to conclude the pension raise drive that will benefit almost 1.4 million people. When the pension raise drive ends, the pension for old age and full length of service will average 2,000 lei a month. Pensioners will make 2 billion lei in extra income this year, and 2.4 billion lei in 1990.

The Executive Political Committee assessed that the new measures of pay and pension rise fit, by their profoundly humanist character, within the steady preoccupations of the party, of the party's general secretary personally, for continually raising the living standard, for ensuring full harmony between the development of the productive forces and the increased welfare of the population.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the party, stressed during the meeting of the Executive Political Committee the significance and outstanding importance of those measures of raising the working people's incomes and the tasks deriving from their application, showing:

By the end of this year, the fact that the average remuneration will be 3,300 lei is a very important achievement, considering the difficult international economic conditions as well as what happens in many countries. This demonstrates the vigor of our economy, the correctness of our party's policy, the fact that we firmly apply the basic principles of socialism, of ensuring the steady raise of the working people's living standard, both material and spiritual. Our party steadily sets out from the principle that socialist construction can proceed in good conditions only if we permanently care about the living and working conditions of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, of our whole people.

The improvement of the forms of management, of organization, must necessarily start from the application of the socialist principles, from the consolidation of the socialist property state and cooperative alike, as a basis for the development of society. Neither the economic development nor the raising of the working people's living standard can be ensured without this. This should be well understood by our party cadres, by all working people, by the whole people, stressed the party's general secretary. The implementation of the program for this year, for the whole 5-year period, is closely linked to the firm implementation of the socialist principles of strengthening the socialist property, of steady organization of the whole activity upon the latest gains of science and technology. One cannot speak of the improvement of socialist construction, of modernization, without laying the latest gains of science and technology at the foundation of the whole activity.

To consider that these ways and means, specific to our society, can be replaced by a return to capitalist forms is not a revolutionary but a liquidating concept that pushes toward relations of a capitalist type and that will worsen the situation of the working class, of the peasantry, and of the whole people. The application of such forms, alien to socialism, can surely result in the emergence of a few groups of people, a small minority, with better income conditions, but that will be to the detriment of the working class, of the people generally.

Referring to the measures regarding the pension rise by up to 45 percent, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu showed that they complied with the same spirit of our party and state to ensure for all working people, pensioners included, a minimal income to ensure adequate living conditions.

In the second part of the year, i.e. between March and 1 August, the party's general secretary demonstrated, the pay and pension rise action will conclude, but we must firmly apply and relate it to the increase of labor productivity, to maintaining the prices strictly under control, as well as to a better supply of the working people of the nation with everything needed.

This however, stressed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, means production, adequate organization of the whole activity, the fulfilment in good conditions of the programs of modernization, the reduction of production expenditures, of the material and energy-related expenditures, as an essential requisite for the maintenance of the prices set, and for secured real increase of the people's living standard.

The settlement of some issues regarding the application of the price system, the party's general secretary showed, must not be done by raising sale prices, but through a better organization of production, through increased labor productivity, and reduced consumptions. This applies also to agriculture, a domain in which still more useless expenditures are recorded.

In general, we must consider that the settlement of our economic issues, the rendering of all products profitable must not be done by increasing the prices but by cutting down the consumptions and increasing labor productivity, by eliminating useless expenditures.

By working for the fulfilment of the development programs of some branches and for a better organization of the activity, we must ensure the necessary conditions for all working people, first of all, the young people, this year's graduates, to be assigned to jobs, requested Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Nobody should be left jobless, stressed the party's general secretary. This must be considered as one of the basic duties of our society, of the state, and of every sector of activity. We cannot endorse the capitalist world's conceptions that start only from making biggest possible profits to the detriment of the working people on account of growing unemployment and poverty. On the contrary, our society must permanently ensure improved working and living conditions for all citizens. This is, in fact, one of the fundamental differences between socialism and capitalism. If we do not settle these issues we do not meet the requirements and principles of socialist leadership.

The securing of work places and increased training of the people, stressed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are compulsory requisites for the adequate unfolding of our entire activity, for raising the general level of work in all domains.

We must improve the whole activity, which is a complex process and must proceed permanently. As a matter of fact, this is the life and development of the society in a revolutionary spirit, stressed the party's general secretary.

In conclusion, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed the confidence that all working people would work with dedication and self-denial, in a revolutionalry spirit, for the exemplary fulfilment of the 1989 plan, of the current 5-year plan targets, of the programs of socioeconomic development of the country, meeting with best possible results in all domains on the 45th anniversary of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation and the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

The Executive Political Committee also solved routine questions of the party and state activity.

Birthday Honors for Elena Ceausescu Continue

Academy Holds Meeting

AU140120689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1958 GMT 14 Jan 89

["Solemn General Meeting of the Romanian Academy"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/01/1989—Saturday, January 14, the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the country's highest scientific forum, organized a solemn general meeting devoted to celebrating the birthday and longstanding revolutionary activity of Academician Elena Ceausescu D. Sc., member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister of Romania, chairman of the National Council of Science and Education.

During the meeting the floor was taken by Academician Radu Voinea, president of the Academy, Academician Professor Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council, Academician Nicolae Giosan, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, Professor Suzana Gadea, corresponding member of the Academy, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, Academician Professor Ion Ursu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, Academician Professor Cristofor Simionescu and Academician Professor Ioan Anton, vice-president of the Academy, Academician Professor Stefan Pascu, member of the Presidium of the Academy, and Mihail Florescu, corresponding member of the Academy, minister secretary of state, the national Committee for Science and Technology.

The speakers paid homage to the personality and scientific activity of Mme Elena Ceausescu, underscoring her original contribution to the promotion of research in Romania, the development of science and culture, providing wide access to the artistic and cultural assets for all the working people. They also pointed out the Romanian politician and scientist's preoccupations with integrating school, science and production, with the full assertion of the technico-scientific revolution and of the Romanian people's creative virtues. Also highlighted was the activity carried out by Academician Elena Ceausescu, D. SC., as chairman of the Romanian National Committee "Scientists and Peace", a forum through which Romania addressed the people in the world the humanitarian message that all the gains of science should held safeguarding peace, the people's fundamental right to life, to free and dignified development.

Academy Sends Cable

AU1701191089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Jan 89 p 5

["Cable Addressed to Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, Member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, First Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, and Chairman of the National Council for Science and Education," by the solemn general meeting of the Academy of the SR of Romania, in Bucharest on 14 January]

[Text] Much Esteemed Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu,

On the anniversary of your birthday and long revolutionary activity, the participants in this solemn general meeting, namely the members of the Academy of the SR of Romania, the highest scientific and cultural forum in the country, are paying you their ardent homage, with profound esteem and great regard. They also extend to you, from the bottom of their hearts, respectful wishes for health, happiness, long life, energy, and new and important successes in your highly responsible activity, to the benefit and flourishing of our socialist fatherland and for the continuous development of Romanian science and culture.

The Academy of the SR of Romania is honored to have you as a member, much esteemed Comrade Academician Elena Ceausescu, prestigious personality of the Romanian science and culture, who are valued by the highest scientific circles throughout the world, and revolutionary militant inspired by noble patriotic sentiment, who—along with the most beloved son of our people Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of the SR of Romania—are making a brilliant contribution to building the comprehensively developed socialist society in our fatherland.

Under your direct guidance and leadership, the scientific-technical creation in Romania is scoring outstanding successes in the implementation of the party program and the fulfillment of other basic targets established by the historic decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the Congress of Science and Education.

Having been entrusted with high party-state positions, you have made and continue to make, an essential contribution to working out the party-state policy in scientific research and the programs on improving the organization and modernization of production, introducing the latest achievements of the contemporary scientific-technological revolution into the production process, and better utilizing the creative potential of the Romanian thinking.

Being a model of daring, self-denial, and high exactingness in the activity of scientific research—an activity which was crowned by outstanding results scored over the years in the sphere of basic and applied research—your contribution to the progress of chemistry, engineering, and chemical industry in our country and to linking scientific-technological achievements in this sphere with the requirements of our national economy is a telling example of the way in which science should be closely blended with production, to the benefit of social progress, of the fatherland's well-being and prosperity, and of peace.

The fruitful activity of the Romanian National Committee "Scientists and Peace"—an activity carried out under your prestigious leadership—clearly illustrates the profoundly humanist and responsible spirit of our party-state policy and the urgent requirement that science and its achievements should be exclusively put in the service of social progress, so as to ensure the basic right of nations to life, peace, and a free and dignified existence.

On this occasion, the members of our Academy, all people active in research, culture, and education, and the entire intelligentsia of Romania reiterate their profound attachment to the people's dear cause, namely the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society in our fatherland, and to the party-state domestic and foreign policy, worked out and managed with wisdom and clearsightedness by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Republic, and titular member and honorary chairman of the Academy of the SR of Romania.

Expressing best sentiments of respect and admiration, we would like to pay homage, on this occasion, too, to your exemplary activity dedicated with patriotic devotion and self-denial to raising independent and sovereign Romania to new peaks of progress and civilization and strongly asserting the Romanian science and culture in the world.

We wish you, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, much health, energy, and happiness as well as new successes in your brilliant and fruitful activity in the scientific and political fields.

From the bottom of our hearts, we wish you Many Happy Returns of the Day!

The Participants in the Solemn General Meeting of the Academy of the SR of Romania

Elena Ceausescu Offers Thanks

AU1701082089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jan 89 p 1

["Comrade Elena Ceausescu's Letter to All Those Who Sent Her Congratulatory Messages and Cables on the Anniversary of Her Birthday and Long Revolutionary Activity"]

[Text] Comrade Elena Ceausescu addressed the following letter to all those who sent her congratulatory messages, letters, and cables:

I would like to express warmest thanks to party, mass, and public bodies and organizations, to ministries and other central state institutions, to working people's collectives from industrial units and from research, educational, cultural, and artistic institutes, to Communists, to party members from the underground period, and to workers, peasants, intellectuals, and all those who sent me congratulations and greetings on the anniversary of my birthday and long revolutionary activity.

I consider these manifestations as an expression of appreciation for my revolutionary activity and for my contribution to our party's domestic and foreign policy of developing the forces of production, science, education, and culture, further raising the nation's material and intellectual well-being, and strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty.

I wholeheartedly extend to all those who congratulated me best wishes for health and happiness and for new successes, satisfaction, and fulfillment in work and life. I would also like to wish all working people and our whole nation most fruitful achievements in the fulfilment of the provisions for this year's plan and the entire 5-year plan, and in the implementation of the historic decisions of the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP, which will insure the strong and comprehensive development of our fatherland and the ceaseless progress and flourishing of our free, independent, and sovereign Socialist Romania.

[Signed] Elena Ceausescu

Media Coverage

AU1301164089 [Editorial Report] Romanian media, in particular the press, from 4 through 8 January, give extensive coverage to the birthday of Elena Ceausescu, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, first deputy prime minister of the government, and chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, celebrated on 7 January; as usual, the media coverage does not specify her age. Beginning with 4 January, the Bucharest dailies SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian carry one or more articles and reports a day—their number increases as the actual birthday draws nearer—written by either journalists or leading cultural and political figures, as part of a series on this anniversary, under the general headline "High Praise and Regard for Comrade Elena Ceausescu's Activity."

The dailies on 4, 5, and 6 January devote between 4,000 and 8,000 words per issue to Elena Ceausescu, "outstanding communist militant" and "scholar of world renown." The newspapers praise her "key" contribution, "alongside the founder of modern Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu," to working out and implementing the "party-state policy of socioeconomic development" and to asserting "the vocation for progress and peace" of the Romanian science, in articles such as: "Outstanding Revolutionary Activity and Prodigious Contribution to the Modernization and Development of the Educational System and to the Socialist and Patriotic Education of the Young Generation," by Ion Teoreanu, minister of education and instruction, in SCINTEIA of 4 January; "Brilliant Personality of the Social, Political, and Cultural Life of the Fatherland," by Suzana Gadea, candidate PEC member and chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, in SCINTEIA of 5 January; "Exemplary Contribution to the Full Assertion of Science, the Development of the New System, and the Creation of a World of Peace and Cooperation," by Ion Ursu, candidate PEC member and first vice chairman of the National Committee for Science and Technology, in

SCINTEIA of 6 January; and "Brilliant Contribution to Implementing the Programs for Comprehensive Development and Raising the Fatherland to New Peaks of Progress and Civilization," by Elena Pugna, first secretary of Arad County RCP Committee, in ROMANIA LIBERA of 6 January. The dailies also carry reports on foreign press eulogies for Elena Ceausescu's scientific and political activity as well as reviews of her latest book of selected speeches "Science and Social Progress," praising her "profoundly humanistic vision" in asserting the peaceful vocation of science in general, and the Romanian science, in particular.

The same Bucharest dailies on 7 January devote three-and-a-half pages each to this anniversary. They carry photographs and photographs of paintings of Elena Ceausescu alone or with her husband on an unspecified occasion. The front page of SCINTEIA displays a 6 by 6 inch photograph (of uncertain age) of Elena Ceausescu standing behind a desk, while ROMANIA LIBERA displays a 6-and-1/2 by 5-and-1/2 inch photograph of her sitting at a desk. Books by her launched in Warsaw and Helsinki are given eulogistic reviews. Articles such as "Brilliant Contribution to Drafting and Implementing the Party-State Domestic and Foreign Policy and to Developing Romanian Science, Education, and Culture," by Constantin Olteanu, member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, in SCINTEIA, and "A Dignified and Heroic Life Devoted to the Party, the Country's Development, and the People's Well-Being," in ROMANIA LIBERA, praise Elena Ceausescu's "brilliant example of revolutionary patriotism and passion," devoted to the "triumph of the communist ideal," as well as her "great merits" in shaping and implementing the country's "overall" policies. The articles and poems devoted to the "Woman-Hero of the Nation" on these pages total some 20,000 words in each daily.

In addition to the extensive media coverage of Elena Ceausescu's birthday in the days preceding the actual day, Bucharest SCINTEIA on 8 January and ROMANIA LIBERA on 9 January (since the latter does not appear on Sundays) continue to carry tributes to Elena Ceausescu on her anniversary. The letter addressed to her by the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and the speech she made on being awarded the title of "Hero of the SR of Romania," as well as reports on the birthday ceremony itself and the comradely luncheon in her honor, are carried in full in both dailies. Their front pages display an undated full-length photograph of Elena and Nicolae Ceausescu alone, measuring 8 by 6-and-1/2 inches in both dailies, as well as a photograph of her being awarded a distinction by Manea Manescu, PEC member and vice president of the State Council, with Ceausescu standing in the background, measuring 5-and-1/2 by 6-and-1/2 inches in both dailies. SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA carry on page 3 a 15 by 5 inch photograph of Elena Ceausescu standing in front of a microphone in the center of the picture, flanked at some distance by Nicolae Ceausescu, slightly in front of the others, Gheorghe Radulescu, Ion Dinca, Gheorghe Oprea, and unidentified person on Elena Ceausescu's right. Manea Manescu, Emil Bobu, and Lina Ciobanu can be identified among the people on her left. The same dailies also carry further articles and messages of homage devoted to the birthday celebration, as well as reports on foreign media praise for Elena Ceausescu's scientific achievements and "outstanding role" in "promoting the cause of cooperation and understanding among nations." The overall material devoted to this anniversary totals some 20,000 words in each of these newspapers. On 11 January, both newspapers devote their entire page 3, some 7,000 words each, to reports on congratulatory messages to Elena Ceausescu from central and local party-state and public bodies as well as from various scientific-cultural institutions throughout the country. SCINTEIA of the same day also carries a 2,000-word review of a "volume of homage" published by the Eminescu Publishing House on her birthday; this volume, entitled "Crown of Laurels," consists of poems and essays by prominent Romanian authors dedicated to Elena Ceausescu's "first rank personality in the political, scientific, and intellectual spheres."

In addition to the above press coverage, the weekly, Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No. 1 of 1 January carries on pages 12, 13, 14, and 15 two articles devoted to Elena Ceausescu's birthday, totaling some 9,000 words: "Exemplary Life Devoted to the Fatherland and the Cause of Socialism and Peace," by Olimpia Solomonescu, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and "High Praise and Profound Regard for a Work of High Political and Scientific Prestige," by regular commentator Doina Topor.

Bucharest broadcast media also give extensive coverage to this anniversary. On 7 January, all morning and midday Bucharest radio casts lead with rather lengthy items noting Elena Ceausescu's birthday. The late afternoon and evening casts, as well as Bucharest AGERPRES in English carry reports on special events devoted to Elena Ceausescu, such as the ceremony where she was awarded the title of "Hero of the SR of Romania"; the speech she made on that occasion; the congratulatory letter from the PEC of the RCP Central Committee; and the party luncheon given in her honor.

Suvar Comments on Pluralism, Kosovo, Media

AU1001060189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 88, 1, 2, 3 Jan 89 pp 2-3

[Interview with Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, by Stanislav Marinkovic, chief and responsible editor of BORBA; Djuro Bilbija, deputy chief editor of BORBA; Bozo Kovac, chief and responsible editor of DELO; Nadezda Gace; Kemal Kurspahic, chief and responsible editor of OSLOBODJENJE; and Gordana Susa; date, place not given]

[Text] [Question] The year 1988 will perhaps be remembered as the year in which the reduction of dogmatism in our political life went the furthest and became irrevocable, when some old ideas and initiatives became accessible and many new ones were born. However, it will also be remembered as the year of further deterioration of the political and economic situation. What is your view on this, that is, the present situation, and also of 1989?

[Suvar] The events during the last year were marked by the eruption of many built-up tensions, but they can by no means be described merely as the reduction of dogmatism. Society has in fact moved within the processes of wide-ranging politicization, leading in various directions. The structure of our society is such that it makes very different, even very divergent social movements possible, such as the movement of the rest of the old-fashioned peasantry, industrial proletariat, middle classes, "new workers class," and old and new strata of intellectual workers, as well as the so-called new or alternative movements that appeared even earlier in the world on the basis of ecological and peaceful initiatives of so-called postmodernism. The conflict between statism and self-management has been and remains dominant. The distributive-statist type of early, undeveloped, and poor socialism produced all that it was capable of producing: It carried out crude industrialization and offered the broad strata of people the initial goods of industrial-urban civilization. Then it wore itself out and was covered by self-management as an ornamental cloak.

It has turned out that the secret of all our secrets is the lack of surplus value and the poor utilization of it, which could no longer be covered by foreign borrowing or by extensive investment. Depending on their different class and social interests, different movements are offering different options for the way out of society's present grave situation and various culprits for it. However, the dominant ones are socialist demands, which 1988 showed vividly, because the historical memory of the great majority of people of what this country has become and what it has achieved thanks to the revolution and the "development" of socialism to this point is now having an effect. Indeed plans which even clash with and oppose socialism are also present sometimes.

If we do not conceive of the LCY as a state party, then this is in fact the ideal atmosphere for the LCY to synthesize all this into one self-managing movement and to operate within this movement. Therefore, the LCY must unambiguously and clearly decide on a revised project of socialism and not be satisfied with simply descriptive phrases, which have so far been a waste.

The Concept of the New Socialism

[Question] Could you tell us in detail how you view last year's political life in the country and the lessons to be learned from it?

[Suvar] Our life has been stirred up, which brought with it many real messages of something better and more progressive, but also great risks. It was full of expressions of retrograde consciousness and blind passions, but it seemed as if the concept of some "new" socialism were beginning to be formed, which also means the discontinuation of many things, but preserving the basic continuity, it remains on the strategic line of the Yugoslav social socialist revolution.

This year was undoubtedly difficult for all of us citizens of Yugoslavia and was perhaps the most difficult of an entire string of bad years. However, it seems that in this year we not only all finally became aware of the situation in which we find ourselves, but also of the way out which is facing us. This was a year in which new visions and prospects were perceived. The program of reforms showed elements of the beginning of transnational integration. The idea of the reform of socialism was given as the basis for a new re-integration of Yugoslavia.

Nationalism as an illusory, fake community strove to be included in these trends, from the peasant trends to peace trends, equating civil society with the nation. National programs as the bases for mass nationalist movements were offered as programs for a horizontal unification within the frameworks of national states.

Political space for initiatives also expanded, but the exploitation of the creators of surplus value also grew, the real wage (because what the worker receives was not turned into his income) fell, and was reduced to the minimum level of existence for a large number of producers, to which they reacted with increasingly frequent strikes in which they presented distinct political demands.

The LCY still has the greatest responsibility for the outcome of this sometimes chaotic, but also provoked, incipient democratization. However, it is not yet united in the battle for this direction of democratization, which is fertile for Yugoslavia and its socialism. Everybody in Yugoslavia brags about democratization, but along with this, certain forms of democratization and "democracies" are strictly and heedlessly controlled. This is obviously a question of different concepts, visions, and scopes. And we have to face these truths.

The following could be defined as a real shift in this democratization, which is the programic aim of the LCY: The finally accepted concept of the development of socialism under conditions of commodity production and the rejection of the concept of the party-state and the role of the subjective factor and political organization as the conductor of the economy; the orientation toward open socialism; the affirmation of the right to one's own view; the scrapping or threatening of one or another political monopoly; the growth of the power of public opinion and the strengthening of social criticism, despite all its negative inherent aspects and the strengthening of the controlling function over state organs; the establishment of accountability for moral and material mistakes by individuals; the exploitation of positions, and so on.

The year which we are entering will also be marked by all these phenomena and processes. What must the LCY strive for and insist on? It must unite all positive initiatives, actions, and processes in the whole country, build a synthesis, make sense of whatever flows in a chaotic way, and really put itself at the helm of the alliance of reforming forces. It should also thoroughly come to grips with all the things that at the moment threaten it from inside, like retrograde consciousness and fake democracy. The key is to open up the process of economic reform.

[Question] It seems that we have reached a preliminary consensus on initiating the "three reforms." For answers as to why and what type of reforms, is it not first of all necessary to give answers to questions of strategic importance: What sort of socialism and what sort of Yugoslavia do we want?

[Suvar] When we think about the further fate of socialism in our country and elsewhere, we must know that socialism throughout the world does not stand in opposition to capitalism; these two systems are not merely geographically divided zones or hemispheres. Capitalism and socialism have shifted in our era. Capitalism itself is even becoming distanced from its earlier heedless principles and methods; many innovations in the organization of work, in the organization of society, and in class relations have occurred as a result of the development of production forces, science, and technology. Therefore, the world is not returning to capitalism, but capitalism is actually spawning relations and solutions which were essentially socialist and so forth, according to the criteria of the 19th century and the second half of the 20th.

Socialism in our country first of all won a political victory and then tried to overcome capitalism in a limited area through the autarkic concept of the "construction" of socialism in one country. We must now pull ourselves out of this and adapt our development to our production forces, but also open up to economic forces in trade with the world in order for us to overcome the backwardness of our production forces, science, and technology, and strengthen the power of socialism by opening up and not by erecting barriers, which leads to relative poverty and the compromise of socialism itself.

Other socialist countries, at least those which have carried out crude industrialization and urbanization appropriate to it, have also basically been faced with the same problems.

[Question] If we have understood you well, socialism therefore abandons its own autarky and "fits" into a united capitalist-socialist world in order to continue to affirm itself and develop.

[Suvar] Yes, that is what it involves. There is one key moment in the transformation of the project of socialism when it opens itself up.

You know that socialism in the Russian October Revolution was considered part of the concept of a world revolution. After the defeat of the revolution in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, Lenin put into practice the theory of socialism in one country. At this time, involution toward state socialism as a closed society in which the state and party bureaucracy are the owner and nationalizer of the means of production, but of people as well, also began. This defensive concept, which was imposed by external pressure and the hostility of capitalism, but also by pressure from old production forces from within, was basically maintained up until recently and even up until the present day. We in Yugoslavia were the first to break away. But even in our country, autarky toward the world was and has remained the basic source of all economic, social, and political obstacles. Such a defensive concept necessarily turned into a fear of the world, a fear of new ideas from within, a fear of restoration, and so on. I think that that was the basic methodical starting point for every analysis and project of renovating socialism.

[Question] Has this now come to an end?

[Suvar] I think so, both in our country and in the world.

After the program of a "world revolution" collapsed, socialism for the first time in its modern history, which is to say in the period after the October Revolution, has announced an aggressive democratic strategy that is not based on the export of revolution and repression, but on the "export" of ideas, peace initiatives, and technological projects. This is the beginning of the victory of the perception of socialism as a pluralistic world process which is growing in various forms all over the world. It is our task to begin a new system of democratic, ecological, demographic and other struggles in the world through the Nonaligned Movement, particularly now that we will formally lead it, a struggle to replace the struggle of the systems.

The aggressive strategy of socialism in Yugoslavia means a general project of reconstruction to which every individual will add his portion of creativity and knowledge. This is the sense of activating a historic project which unites several movements within it. The aggressive strategy of state socialism generated repression. The activation of productive and control potentials of socialist self-management will generate quite new relations.

[Question] We have received an answer to the question: What sort of socialism? The second part of our question reads: What sort of Yugoslavia?

[Suvar] A few years ago I said that I was not in favor of just any kind of Yugoslavia, but only of a socialist and federal Yugoslavia. Even then I was criticized by some circles and comrades. In fact I think the same thing today. The development of events has shown that such an assessment holds more firmly today than yesterday.

The question of whether Yugoslavia will remain is misplaced from an international point of view at present. The peace process advances in the world, even though the spheres of interest continue to be divided. Europe is stable and permeated with integration initiatives. The question, then, is not of Yugoslavia's continued existence, but of what sort of a country Yugoslavia will be tomorrow, what will change in it at what speed, and at what cost we will master certain disintegration tendencies and moments of instability.

It is obsolete, to say the least, to regard Yugoslavia as an ethnic fact, as a union or conglomerate of related or unrelated ethnic groups. Today and tomorrow, Yugoslavia can exist and prosper only through socialism, but not any sort or any kind of socialism. It cannot prosper if we all remain, or better, again become, in our awareness and in our relations, the heirs of various romantic myths and retrograde traditions.

What was the Yugoslav idea and what was Yugoslavia earlier, and what has it been until now? In the past, the idea of unification arose from the Slavic idea and the common fate of the southern Slavs in relation to the encroachment of neighboring strong ethnic groups. A joint state was set up in this century. In the socialist revolution, all our peoples won their self-determination and a socialist federal state was formed, based on one party and set within the framework of a state-socialist monopoly over the social reproduction, and we stepped on the road of socialist self-management.

Now, a century and a half after the first ideas and the movement for Yugoslav unification, we are again deliberating about the sense of socialist Yugoslavism.

The condition for a new integration of Yugoslavia is to overcome the development methods, the practical policy instruments, and even the bearers of early socialism. Above all this means that methods of revolutionary statism must be abandoned, on the basis of an analysis of the changes in the manner of production, an analysis of the relations of modern society and modernization, of industrial and post-industrial society, and so forth. Society should finally turn to the social sphere of exchange and economy, and achieve its integration on this basis.

I advocate the thesis that the integration of Yugoslavia on the basis of a new development model—which would finally ensure a strategic victory of socialist self-management over state socialism in production relations—is a condition for democratization and national equality, while further processes of statist fragmentation would lead to a totalitarian life within closed national-state societies, and Yugoslavia would be merely a conglomeration or a simple political space for their coexistence. We have been sliding toward such societies which are closed toward Yugoslavia as a whole, and they have tended to base themselves on "rounded-up" national economies, perhaps on 19th century examples, reactivating nationalism as a political and ideological defense of constricted national markets. However, the prerequisite for our ability and the strength of our movement is a new way of thinking about the essence of socialism, the function of the state, the relationship of the plan and the market, the subject or the subjects of social changes, about man who works and creates his happiness, the sense and the function of science, technology, and technical developments, and about the attitude toward self-managing pluralism and monism.

[Question] Does this not presuppose a change in the constitutional set-up of Yugoslavia? After all, a new constitution has been announced.

[Suvar] I hope that the new identity of Yugoslavia will be expressed in the constitution that we will prepare. However, the question is what starting point we will take in further constitutional discussions. The starting positions and who will take what starting position for the race can already be discerned. I will not mention here all the possible platforms that will be or already are in the play, such as those of integral Yugoslavism, the mission of the several peoples, the liberators and those liberated, state creating, national unity, super-statehood, and radical, Frankist [referring to the anti-Serb Party of Croatian Rights founded by Dr Frank at the beginning of this century], Obrenovic [19th century Serbian dynasty], liberal, Starcevic [founder of the Party of Croatian Rights, end 19th century], and other platforms. Our question is: With what are we Communists entering the changes? With what program?

Pyromaniacal Ideas About Negation of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]

Our peoples themselves decided on the foundations of this Yugoslavia through their joint and unified liberation struggle, and they were also confirmed by AVNOJ, while the essential links between the nations and the relations within the nations are determined by socialism. Unless one wants to create national inequality and provoke a civil war, any idea about negating AVNOJ is pyromaniacal and crazy. At present, when all our nations are developed modern nations, nobody can subordinate anybody else, only everybody may lose. This does not mean that messiahs with such ideas, ready to start fires, are not present in every period.

[Question] In which respect can Yugoslavia change then?

[Suvar] Let me repeat: The road that would ensure the prospect of a developed, democratic, rich, and free country organized in a modern way can be for Yugoslavia only the road of a renewal of socialism and its development according to man's needs. The identity of countries in the future will be increasingly expressed through the level of liberation of man, through material and spiritual wealth, the preservation of nature, the wealth of specific traits, and decreasingly through the extent of the state borders, wars, fighting, the ability to dominate, monolithism and centralism, and its belonging to blocs.

I therefore hope that the basic principle of increasing the material welfare of the people, and strengthening self-managing democracy and the equality of the peoples and nationalities will prevail rather than the principle of dividing power among various bureaucracies, the struggle for statism, or, for instance, combining market and dictatorship methods, and so forth.

At present socialism is identified in our country with the following ideas: a political monopoly of the party, statist regulation of all the relations, hyper-regulation and administrative arbitrariness, closed markets, inefficiency, lack of inventiveness and inability to compete, development projections based on raw materials and industry, energy consumption, pollution of the environment, low personal incomes, unbalanced development, and so forth. If we compare all this with the factors that are leading to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, we will reach the simple conclusion that the obsoleteness of an industrial model threatens that socialism in Yugoslavia will end up as a form of crude industrialization.

The ideas concerning a renewal of socialism, including socialism in Yugoslavia, which is the essence of the reforms, should result in a project that will transform and innovate the basic concepts and totally reject some other concepts as we already did the first time, in our clash with Stalinism.

The changes will run concretely in three basic directions: a reform of the LC, an economic reform, and a reform of the political system; in other words, three reforms. Let me try to add to what I have already said a kind of a summing up of the essential points that would link the three reforms into a single one.

Development From Less Socialism to More Socialism

First, we must determine socialism as a means and a process of the emancipation of man, as an idea, movement, and system. Second, we must stop thinking about socialism as a turning point beyond which there is nothing else, we must see it as a progression from less toward more socialism, a socialism with several turning points. Third, socialism must inaugurate the notions of freedom and a healthy and rich life. There can be no freedom without wealth and health. Wealth cannot be acquired without man's emancipation, without social, political, and creative freedom. Fourth, from the beginning, the theory of socialism has been a pluralist theory and cannot be reduced to a single model. Fifth, socialism must adopt one completely different notion of progress from the one which is in essence joint and quantitative for both state socialism and state capitalism. Socialism must unite the progress of knowledge and freedom. There can be no socialism without alternatives, without competing projects. However, socialism's alternatives must be directed toward overcoming the existing method of production.

[Question] The reforms and the democratization of political life which is contained in them have started interethnic friction in all socialist countries, including our country. Is the currently increasing nationalism an expression of a crisis in socialism or is nationalism, as is often stressed, the fate of the modern world, and therefore our fate?

[Suvar] Nationalism is not the fate of the modern world, nor especially our fate. Peoples exist and will exist, and no people will be happy if they are not allowed to decide about their own fate or affirm themselves within the bounderies of their country, as well as in the world community. This particularly refers to our peoples who, through a unique revolution under Tito's leadership, won equality and opted for brotherhood and unity.

Interethnic frictions in our country are the expression of both the historically unfulfilled national consciousness and the domination of national bureaucracies and elites in social circumstances in which the creators of value are not linked through their "natural" economic links, but through national-state mediation and bargaining.

[Question] Are the ideas and practice of encapsulation into national states not a permanent threat to the unity and prosperity of Yugoslavia?

[Suvar] First of all, during the people's liberation struggle, our peoples expressed their self-determination through the creation of republics as national states, although the republics are not only that, they are not only national states. Our peoples voluntarily united themselves into Yugoslavia as a federation, as a federal state. This cannot be disputed.

Today, unfortunately, the situation is such that the obsession with primarily a national state, even in some parts of the LC, is such that it has paralyzed Yugoslavia. The obsession with a national state will exist as long as national bureaucracies are afraid of opening up to Yugoslavia and the world, as long as they are afraid of free movement by people and the free flow of cultural achievements and information. Among our peoples, bureaucratic and cultural elites still hold the monopoly on decisionmaking with regard to resources, funds, institutions, information, and the promotion of people to prominent posts in the economy and in the political and cultural superstructure. Through this, and on the basis of this, these elites are reproducing themselves as the advocates and guardians of the nation. For these reasons they are resorting to national hegemonization [hegemonizacija] and the creation of psychosis, even paranoia about the nation being in danger. From whom? Allegedly from our other peoples and from Yugoslavia itself, if it were to function as a well-organized and rational federation.

As long as Yugoslavia is a socialist country, it must have neither the Serbian, Croatian, Slovene, or any other mark. Nobody in Yugoslavia should occupy the prime place. Yugoslavia must be Yugoslav in order to be equally Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and so forth.

Nobody has some kind of higher rights to Yugoslavia, nor the rights to possess it more than others. Yugoslavia is the home of all our peoples and nationalities, and they all need it equally.

[Question] One hears increasingly often, even from official places, that Slovenia could manage on its own, that Serbia has the best raw-material processing basis, and that therefore it could also manage on its own. Where does this lead, and what are the roots of these assumptions?

[Suvar] Even Yugoslavia cannot manage on its own, but must establish production and market links with Europe and the world. None of our republics would improve their economic position or secure their own economic development through isolation or through fencing themselves off into their own national economies. After all, the results of this can be seen in the present economic situation.

For the last 20 years, people in Yugoslavia have been trying to work out who is exploiting whom. Eight different economic institutes or similar institutes presented and are presenting eight different analyses and eight different views on the development of Yugoslavia, claiming more or less that "we" fare badly and that "others" are doing well at "our" expense. This contributed to the quarrels among the republican and provincial bureaucracies and to the paralysis of the federation's economic policy.

Of course, economic reasons for our national question exist as much today as they did in the past. Uneven development will not be able to eliminate the unity in the Yugoslav market, even if this unity were to be attained. Furthermore, in some respect the market, by its very nature, will widen this uneven development. This is why we need more than ever before a corrective policy which would help the undeveloped regions; we need a new policy. However, there is not enough space for me to present its contours.

In Yugoslavia almost everybody wanted to have the status of an undeveloped region in order to receive some funds, but what was received was not used properly. This is typical of distributive socialism. This is why the entire country has been busy for decades with internal quarrels concerning undevelopment, and this is why Europe, which is its immediate economic environment, has widened the development gap even more.

[Question] Do you think that after everything that has happened in recent months, Yugoslavia today is closer to the danger of "becoming Kosovo itself" than it was when you warned about it before?

[Suvar] If we proceed with our reforms, then the chances of the situation in Kosovo improving will also be greater.

Otherwise, I would say that the political situation in Kosovo and concerning Kosovo has paralyzed—more so in Kosovo than anywhere else in Yugoslavia—the mood and energy of the people to work better, to produce more, and to better utilize resources and the means of production.

Turning toward the problems of development, better work and greater production, faster provision of jobs, and controlling the demographic explosion—which is incidentally not a question of politics but of development—along with the greater involvement and the linking up of organizations of associated labor in Serbia and Yugoslavia in order to invest funds and provide experts so that Kosovo can produce the most profitable goods for home and foreign markets, so that great raw materials and energy potentials are used as rationally as possible—these are all conditions for the prosperity of Kosovo and for the "normalization" of awareness and behavior in all of Yugoslavia in relation to Kosovo.

The situation will finally improve when we overcome everything that is pushing Kosovo toward its becoming a specific, and not only ethnically pure reservation; when people in Kosovo, primarily Albanians, go to work normally in other parts of the country; when they start to create and to educate themselves; and when others also come to work and live in Kosovo.

Of course, political stabilization in Kosovo is the main prerequisite for a turn toward this kind of development. This stabilization presupposes above all the curbing of the illegal organized activities of Albanian nationalists and separatists, as well as the activities of those who operate on the public scene in a perfidious way.

Unfortunately, a slow and indecisive showdown with the exponents of the counterrevolution and Albanian nationalism, first in 1968, then in 1981, and today, has facilitated the escalation of Albanian nationalism, which in turn has contributed toward the deterioration of the social, economic, and political situation throughout the country.

We should at last, in line with the 17th LCY Central Committee session, have and implement a unified program for the activities of the Kosovo LC, the Serbian LC, and the LCY. The emphasis should of course be on the Kosovo LC, because one must first of all defeat Albanian nationalism and win the battle against the counterrevolutionary forces and their influence. The Kosovo LC should at last establish the accountability of all those responsible for nationalist activities and for stoking nationalism.

The recent mass gatherings, protests, and demonstrations have shown not only that national divisions have been brought to an extreme, but also—which should worry us even more—that the Albanian nationality has been made the subject of disinformation and various manipulations. This is even more difficult and dangerous considering the fact that the influence of the counterrevolutionary line of Albanian nationalism, which demands an ethnically pure Kosovo and secession, has still not been curbed and that many specific manifestations from these positions have not been curbed either.

The Concern of the Albanians Is Increasing

It has been evident that the ethnic Albanians are more and more concerned about the fact that they may be pushed into an unequal position and that Kosovo may lose its autonomy. They are particularly concerned about the fact that they are treated almost as a subversive nation. There is no real basis for this feeling, but there were nevertheless certain articles in the press, certain slogans, banners, and speeches at various gatherings. On the other hand, Albanian nationalists bring anti-Serb feeling into Albanian masses and spread rumors that Albanian nationality will lose all its rights, including the right to use its language, that land will be taken away from peasants, and that the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia lead to this. It has turned out that the LC and other organized socialist forces have so far conducted an insufficient amount of real political work and real political action within and about the Albanian nationality. This is the main weakness which the LC must overcome. As a result of it, the LC has failed all the tests.

It is for this reason that the LC and all organized socialist forces in Kosovo—with the support, help, and activity of the LC of Serbia and all other progressive forces in Serbia and Yugoslavia—are faced with much persistent political work in the field, among the working people, citizens, and youths in order to be able to change all this; restore joint life and joint gatherings; strengthen mutual confidence; strengthen brotherhood and unity on the same criteria; to strengthen the joint front of Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins, and all others in Kosovo; halt the emigration of Serbs, Montenegrins, and others under duress; curb any nationalist activity and harassment; and ensure a peaceful and dignified life and work for all people in Kosovo.

[Question] Let us return for a moment to the economic reform in particular. We are finally embarking on it at the beginning of this year. It was announced that it would have a beneficial effect, but the public is almost unanimously claiming that it has not been properly prepared. Can you comment on this?

[Suvar] The basic ideopolitical questions in the approach to the economic reform have been more or less sorted out, and professional and political circles are chiefly agreed on them.

Unfortunately, many practical steps have not been made in time or have not yet been made, so we cannot count on a successful beginning of the reform.

As you know, the essential aims and tasks of the economic policy last year were not realized, with a partial exception in regard to the results in exports, tourism, and traffic.

It is most important now to finally start reducing inflation. This inflation is specific to us—it is unlike conventional types of inflation in the past and the present types of inflation in other countries, so it cannot be overcome by conventional methods nor by the shock-therapy that, for instance, does not work in Latin American countries.

Inflation is threatening to turn into hyperinflation. This means that the measures taken so far have been neither right nor all-embracing.

However, reducing inflation is a task we will be able to perform if everybody in Yugoslavia—in the economy and politics alike—shows readiness to sacrifice some of their interests with a view toward helping the entire country solve stagflation and economic difficulties.

For there are many clashes of interests, and, as usual, all the blame is thrown on the shoulders of some federal bodies, forgetting that their hands are to a great extent tied. By saying so I by no means want to say that these bodies should be pardoned for all that they have not done or failed to do.

All this will be discussed at the LCY Central Committee session in January.

The main aim of the reform—a thorough restructuring of the economy— can be achieved by the end of the century, and at the 19th plenum I said something about the basis upon which this is to be done.

[Question] Does the LC think about a strategy for, say, the post-1992 period, when Europe will look different in the economic, cultural, and political sense?

[Suvar] The past year was marked by, among other things, a discussion about our attitudes toward integration in Europe. The position which we arrived at represents a significant shift, which will also be important for Yugoslavia's future. This position is a position of open socialism and integration in the world market, which would logically lead to our greater inclusion in Europe. In the course of 1 millenium, we provided Europe with many cultural and scientific achievements. This is why the initiative that we, as Yugoslavia, in a united rather than in a segmented way, start discussing this question is of great importance. This is why it was good that we started a preliminary discussion about this at the recent 19th LCY Central Committee session.

We need to establish links with all European development programs that are world leaders, not because they are European but because they are, objectively speaking, the best.

[Question] Could you tell us something more about the LCY's transformation, since you are the head of the commission that was given the task of preparing a concept of transformation?

[Suvar] I would like to answer your question with one remark concerning methodology. What the LC will look like in the future cannot be answered in the old way by saying that the LCY Central Committee, or some politburo, or Stipe Suvar as the current president of the executive organ can determine things in advance without the membership expressing its views in a democratic way. We approached the matter from a completely different angle. We did not proceed only from Gramsci's theses that the party as a collective intellectual can arrive at solutions through joint efforts of intellect in a discussion, but thought that we should go much further. The entire socialist intellect and our entire communist movement must express their vision of the vanguard and of their own position. We must synthesize all epochal parameters by using world knowledge and uniting historic, cognitive-theoretical, and organizational questions into one project. This is a considerably different approach from another one that is also being offered to us as a model, but which reduces the discussion to an organizational matter, to the introduction of a statute of a directive character, the election of a good Central Committee which would solve problems, and so forth.

I will say something more about this vision of things soon, when the commission, of which I am the head, comes up with a concept which will be discussed by the Central Committee and sent for a general party discussion prior to the 14th LCY Congress.

[Question] Fine, we accept that, but in the context of the LC's future role let us broach the question of political pluralism and the multiparty system. It appears that in our country and, for instance, in neighboring Hungary, discussions about political pluralism are increasingly becoming legitimate. In Slovenia, attempts have already been made to form other parties. Views on the introduction of a dual party system based on socialist and self-managing orientations were expressed even earlier. How do you see the necessary pluralization of political life in Yugoslavia?

[Suvar] In the view of their advocates, the calls for the introduction of the multiparty system which, as you said, have recently been heard increasingly often, should, as deus ex machina, quickly find the way out of the economic and political crisis, lead us to real democracy, make us desirable to the West, and so forth.

The Multiparty System's Traps

We are talking about the future. I am therefore also in favor of a free discussion on political pluralism. However, let me ask the following question: Should we in the future replace one set of dogmas with another set of dogmas, and do we have reasons to believe that life would be better and easier with more parties?

In organizing our future social relations we should first consider how the social system will function in reality—which is to say its practicality—then past experiences, and finally achievements and trends in the most developed countries and the most progressive segments of these societies.

The basic weakness of the statist stage of socialism has been the domination of politics over the economy, the monopoly of politics, and the substitution of the position of the basis with that of superstructure. The result has been a fall in commodity production and an increase in the generation of alienated power. The introduction of a multiparty system in our country would lead to even greater clashes on the national, sectorial, class, stratum, and [illegible] platforms, which would inevitably end in the [illegible] of national programs. This has been demonstrated by the first initiatives to found new parties, from which one suspects a reductionist approach of reducing everything to national elements, the consequence of which would be secession, domination, and so forth. These initiatives have shown that even the completely positive programs and rational problems in these programs, which socialism has also failed to resolve successfully (human freedom, solidarity, ecology, world peace), are used as the means for politicization, which treats these problems as national, rather than as primarily human problems.

I fear that the multiparty system would produce a hyperpolarized, blocked, and divided society in which the production of clashes would replace the production of goods. The aim of the current reform of the LC and the political system is, in fact, to remove the elements of the kind of system that is emerging in our political organization of life.

The lessons from the past are also against this. Before the war we had 39 parties, which grew out of the structure of the social division of labor, a structure which, in a political sense, mainly generated a system of the subjugated workers class, unequal peoples, and parasite bourgeoisie.

The disintegration of these parties in 1941, except the Communist Party, revealed the strength of these programs in conditions which are historically similar to the present conditions.

And finally, if we want to learn from the developed world, than we should at last take into account its good sides, rather than only the bad and rejected sides. For instance, we should not develop the concept of enterprise in such a way that the elements of state socialism turn into the elements of state capitalism, but should use the current practice of growing self-management in modern corporations and even in micro-units of postindustrial society.

Numerous critics on the left, even some post-Marxists, point to the practice of a parliamentary multiparty system as a gathering of "bric-a-brac parties," whose main aim is to win a majority. They believe these parties produce a selective blindness for key and controversial issues, further leading to a situation in which differences among the parties are smaller than they are within them, to a situation in which the parties "invent" the importance of some problems. This has led to a widespread mistrust among the people toward the parties and their policies. This can also be seen from a poor and increasingly smaller turnout of the electorate at elections. In the parties' political struggles for seats in parliament and for assuming and preserving power, more and more is being said about less essential things (such as personal weaknesses of the candidates, scandals, insults, love affairs, bank accounts) in order to avoid a discussion about the military industry, state deficit, repression, the police, espionage, and so forth. This is in fact where the strength of new social movements comes from, new movements that are engaged in the defense of civil society from state domination, movements that are raising the questions that the classical parties are camouflaging for reasons of power (atomic energy, urban renewal, housing, armaments, even the IMF, and the system of financial exploitations). These new movements do not want to constitute themselves as parties. They want to integrate the notion of freedom and a good life through self-management in the most progressive way.

Social Pluralism Instead of Clashes Among Monistic Parties

The way out of the LC monism and monopoly that still prevail must be sought not in creating many clashing monistic parties, but in social pluralism and the development of a self-managing structure of society. Do the present trends of the crumbling of the LC not present evidence of this? A true development of self-management, the activities of the SAWP as a democratic pluralist movement for change, the affirmation of socialist civilian society as an element of self-management, actual care and initiative of a multitude of associations and organizations for a more free and humane life of people, the establishment of actual control by social forces and individuals over administration and power—these, I believe, are much more progressive responses than party political pluralism or a multiparty system.

In the forthcoming reform of the political system and the reform of the LC, we must therefore more boldly work out and make specific our principled outline of how all the organized forces of socialist social consciousness and creation should be integrated in the self-managing system, how the initiative of the people should be liberated, and in general, how all these creative forces in society could be democratically linked so that we may go forward more rapidly.

[Question] In the past few months we have seen that the press has been made to serve politics in a peculiar fashion, and has been demonized. Leaderships and parts of the LCY are launching various political options through public media, and these media are the "assault troops" in their confrontations, vilifications, and the momentary position of forces. Every community and every leadership positively assesses their media. Where does this lead us? Is the impression correct that the party leadership has no strength for a critical position and that it addresses all its observations merely to "some public media?"

[Suvar] A situation seems to have arisen in which everybody is now concerned about the press. Politicians are dealing with the press, courts are dealing with the press, the press is dealing with the press. With the disintegration of statism, the machinery of control and regulation of society, including public communications media peculiar to statism is also disintegrating. The overall system of social ownership has been gradually turning into private ownership of the bureaucracy, and not into socialization. Perhaps the public communications media were under such private ownership of the bureaucracy most of all.

Liberalization, a spontaneous and unregulated shedding of these shackles, started a few years ago. It is quite certain that journalism plays a great role in setting the benumbed society in motion again. Some newspapers played quite prominent roles in all this. This tendency must be continued if we actually want to open up all the secrets of bureaucratic decisionmaking, arbitrariness, privileges, inability, and nonsense over the long term. It is being forgotten that modern democracy arose through a merger of market society, legal state, and through publicity as a mediator between these two spheres. Unless we want to remain enslaved in a benumbed society captured by the state, instead of self-management obtaining the strength of a creative movement, we must support these processes.

Primary Accumulation of Socialist Public

Publicity, incorporated in the public information media, is now in a transitional state, is adopting various forms, appearing as a mixture of various influences, and is tending to experience the same fate as the socialist state of specific primary accumulation. Perhaps a peculiar primary accumulation of self-managing publicity has been occurring in the past few years.

You know that the state was also turning from a means of liberation into a means of imposing state control, impeding progress, and blocking development. The communications media also are not without this danger. But one should not kill the mockingbird because of this. What you are saying in your question is that this demonization and this diabolizing are an indication of such a process. Something is happening that is even worse than primitive control. Now that creativity has been freed to some extent, some newspapers put it at the service of national homogenization and creating enemies of entire nations, of an unprecedented creation of hostility in life in general, of freedom from others and freedom to serve one's own masters. Some newspapers and television studios have become victims of perfidious manipulation and organs of a populist rage, like in the Jacobinic revolution. A set of opinions, with all the virtues of a patriarchal society, characterized by isolation from all the rest of the world, has been blown up to unprecedented proportions through powerful technical means. The communication media are being transformed into bastions of propaganda and counterpropaganda. These are the virtues of a wartime press. The enemy is losing in our victory fronts, and the war goes on. I think that the great majority of journalists feel professional and ethic revulsion against it. I therefore believe that the progressive role will prevail, but political clarification is a precondition.

[Question] Does that mean that the problem of the press and the problems in the press cannot be resolved only on the level of political action, or that something is not right with the model?

[Suvar] I completely agree! As far as the political aspect of matters is concerned, I think that the first step will be the criterion that no one who does not speak in public can be elected to a public post. We have people who have not spoken in public for years and only speak in phrases at routine meetings. Each official must reply in public to everything that he is seriously asked in public, on subjects ranging from the property that he owns to how he sees a specific problem and the solution to that problem. It is unbelievable that someone can be asked about something for months and remain silent. To whom is he answerable? If he is a party official he is answerable above all to the membership, but also to the entire public, because a reformed LC must be democratically built into self-management and, within it, into a civil society. It is not a matter of openness or public accountability if you gather a mass of people, tell them what you think, and then ask them to disperse. Democratic societies overcame this type of openness a long time ago. Each individual, each citizen, must have the right to reply to all personal and social questions which interest him. Our political system and our public can only support those officials who can competently give these answers.

[Question] Along with several other officials, you are well known for conducting polemics and public speeches. It could not be said that you have recently replied to "name calling."

[Suvar] I do not answer what has already been explained, and I do not reply to attacks which contain no intellectual substance, rationality, or individual or group opposition to my actions. In such "articles," dialogue is made impossible in advance and it harms the person who is chosen as the target. However, I am prepared to reply to all questions which are relevant to a rational openness, and such a thing exists in all communities. In any case, there is no hope for an irrational openness. All other public workers must also be prepared for this. They cannot reply to only their own nation or their own press. It would be good if those newspapers which are the least biased at this moment and which have the least dependent attitude could excel in closely examining all individuals in public positions.

LCY Central Committee Session Set for 25 Jan

LD1701173989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jan (TANJUG)—The next session of the LCY Central Committee will be held on 25 January. This was decided by the LCY Central Committee Presidium at yesterday's session, presided over by Stipe Suvar. The Presidium considered the content and concept of the forthcoming 20th session of the LCY Central Committee, at which, the Presidium concluded, the Central Committee will consider the political situation in the country, relations in the LCY, and the work and responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium.

The statement of yesterday's session says that the Presidium was briefed by Zorica Kovacevic, the leader of the working group of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee, as well as with the report of a group of members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which stayed in Titograd on 15 January, about the situation in the Montenegrin LC and the measures and activities which are being undertaken in this republic. A special working group of the LCY Central Committee Presidium was formed which will provide direct assistance to the organs of the Montenegrin LC in their work.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium also considered and approved a report by LCY Central Committee Presidium member Marko Orlandic on his visit to the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and his talks with Todor Zhivkov, the BCP general secretary, and other Bulgarian personalities.

The Presidium assessed that this visit was successful and useful and that it facilitated a constructive and meaningful exchange of views on questions of mutual interest.

In this connection, the Presidium positively assessed the overall development of relations between the BCP and the LCY and stated that the processes of social reform in the two countries are broadening the scope for cooperation and constructive dialogue between the two parties and countries. This makes it all the more vital that in their mutual relations, questions which impede the broad development of cooperation and relations, stemming from the Bulgarian nonrecognition of the Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria and the Macedonian nation in general, be removed.

The Presidium accepted the resignations of Vukasin Loncar and Slobodan Filipovic from their posts of executive secretaries of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the statement say in conclusion.

Montenegrin Union Council Accepts Resignation

LD1701161889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1113 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Titograd, 17 Jan (TANJUG)—The workers are justifiably seeking an end to the compromising and pact-forming policy of the national-bureaucratic structures; they are seeking further democratization, resolute action, increased accountability, fundamental cadre renewal, and a decisive influence for themselves on the election of their own representatives to state and political organs. Put simply, they are seeking leaderships in which they will have full confidence, something which is obviously lacking at present. This was stressed by President of the Montenegrin Trade Union Council Milo Djurovic at an extraordinary session of the Montegrin Trade Union Council. [passage omitted]

Djurovic noted that the participants in the recent meeting in Titograd had not been calling for larger salaries, nor had there been demands which were impossible to meet. It is clear to everyone that we can improve our lives only if we work better and more. The demands of the meeting's participants were explicitly political, calling for the replacement of the leadership and the overcoming of the situation in which all normal political activity is blocked. We, too, support these demands, said Djurovic, and this is why the Presidium of the republican trade union council submitted its collective resignation. This resignation was accepted unanimously at today's session of the Council. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted; TANJUG part three not received] [passage omitted]

In all the remaining speeches, it was assessed that the trade union leadership had not truly represented its base and that its resignation should be accepted, which was done by unanimous vote. Following this, a working group of seven members was elected, which will carry out the function of the Presidium until the next session of the republican trade union council, when a new leadership will be elected.

Rupel Explains Role of Slovene Democratic Union

AU1701173589 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene 13 Jan 89 p 21

[Unattributed interview with Dimitrij Rupel, president of the Executive Committee of the Slovene Democratic Union; date, place not given]

[Text] [Question] In its program theses, the Slovene Democratic Union [SDU] advocates the establishment of a parliamentary democracy. What are the realistic chances of success, considering the political setup of forces in Yugoslavia?

[Rupel] The very form of rule is not all that important. We could call it a parliamentary, congressional, or assembly system. Switzerland has an assembly system quite different from ours. It is not just a matter of the political system functioning in a parliamentary form, but of an institutionalized political pluralism and democracy. We advocate a modern system in which the political space is, in principle, empty and where one gains entry through competition. The conditions for this are ripe, although the Yugoslav context is constricting in this sense. The Slovene politicians refer to this context when they find excuses which they make to the people for not being able to realize this project because the South, the federation, and the federal administration are standing over them. I think that the only productive thing for Slovene politics is to introduce some new concepts of political activities. The founding of the SDU is a touchstone for those who speak about democracy in our country. Slovenia now still has the opportunity to bring new ideas to the Yugoslav market, but this opportunity will be decreased later. At the moment we have no opportunity to normally establish political parties so that various groups with an appropriate backing can appear in the assembly or parliament. For this purpose one should prepare the ground and change the Constitution, the SAWP Statute, the legislation, and so forth. "Study steps" are needed in Slovenia before political pluralism actually comes into effect.

[Question] The dilemma that appears in public—whether the SDU will organize itself as a party or a movement—is therefore probably quite artificial.

[Rupel] We have no chance of organizing ourselves as a political party. In our program, we declared ourselves to be a movement for the establishment of a pluralist system, whether of the parliamentary or any other type.

[Question] The position of the Slovene Party [LC] is that it will not "step down from power" if the newly established unions organize themselves as parties. The next reproach is that the establishment of a multi-party system would mean the oppression of the minority opinion, that such a system has lost its power in the West, and so forth.

[Rupel] As long as the party says that the multiparty system is obsolete, it should not be believed, because it protects its political interests and positions in this way. However, it is possible to open a debate on whether the multiparty system which has proved its worth in European experience need be copied in every detail when we decide on political pluralism in our country. The present parties are not set up only on ideological differences, but on details and personalities. Thus, one party is in favor of constructing nuclear power stations, and another is against it. There are very few old-fashioned parties based on weltanschauung, such as those we used to have before the war (Christian Socialists, Liberals). New variations are being searched for in traditionally democratic surroundings, too. During the constitutional discussions in Italy it was said that their party system is too complicated because of the large number of parties. They wish to change the system into a two-party one. A modern democracy needs an apparatus of two parts. They control each other and equilibrium is established. Our system is completely ineffective and lacks life. The argument that there is no sense in creating a political party system in our country rests on the supposition that such a system was unsuitable before the war. It is a fact, however, that Slovenes and Yugoslavs lack experience in democracy. In the SDU founding committee, we talk about apparently banal matters: what should be done to make elections really democratic, to grant a minority the right to be heard, and so on. I am sure that a British parliamentarian would throw up his hands in despair if he heard all this. We are just learning all this now, for we have not known it for the past 60 years. We had a short period between the wars when party life was relatively well developed. It is ridiculous on the basis of these 10 years to assert that the system of political parties was compromised in our country and that it should not be introduced. Such arguments and similar ones should be understood as threats used by the authorities.

[Question] What are the options if the authorities will not tolerate the SDU activities? In this case will the SDU be banished to a ghetto as a pressure group and condemned to issue public releases, or will it think of some other forms of activities?

[Rupel] It is possible to think of a scenario in which our initiative will not succeed, will be suppressed, and will have great difficulties. We are volunteers, each has his own profession, and we cannot compete with the state professional apparatus. In the case that you stated, we would disband. However, in 2 or 5 years, the story would be repeated under Romanian-like circumstances. Eventually boys brandishing knives would appear and would no longer ask whether the SAWP would talk with them, would not go to SAWP Presidium sessions, and so forth. We abide by the rules of the game and behave in a civil way. We do not destroy institutions, but try to change them. Two hundred years after the French Revolution, we speak about human rights. The later one discusses these, the worse it is. Unless we prepare politically for Europe after 1992, we will become an associated sausage factory. Monolithism is deadening, impractical, and constitutes an old-fashioned form of political life.

Future of Slovene Democratic Union Assessed

AU1801104089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14-15 Jan 89 p 12

[Slavko Gajevic report: "We Will Be the Opposition"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 Jan—The new political organization, the Slovene Democratic Union [SDU] was formally set up in Ljubljana just before midnight last Wednesday. As early as the next morning, the announcer on the "202" program on Ljubljana radio offered a prize to listeners for the answer to a question. The question was the following: "What does the metaphor about the puppet theater on the second floor mean?" The announcer then "helped" the listeners: This metaphor was repeated on two occasions recently by Dimitrije Rupel. The listeners were quick and said that the metaphor related to the Slovene SAWP and the Slovene LC, which do not have their own program, but are "hooked" onto the program of the federal LC and SAWPY.

The winner was immediately given a prize. His musical wish was fulfilled, and a rock song about the days of Christmas was played.

This excerpt from the radio program not only bears witness to the actual speed of the media, but also to the significance that has already been attached to the newly formed SDU in Slovenia. Now that the SDU has been set up after several months of preparation, events in Slovenia—and even in Yugoslavia—have acquired another essential factor which will not be able to be avoided. The SDU should soon be setting up its own organs throughout Slovenia—in local communities, communes, and regions. Leaderships will also be elected in all these communities, and then the election of the SDU's candidates for the next elections should follow. Along with all this, the SDU has also announced the publication of its newspaper—which means the creation of its "own" public opinion—before the dilemma has been resolved of whether the new union will formally put forward the proposal that it be given space for its own media activity in the DELO newspaper and on Ljubljana radio and television.

For now, the SDU with its 823 members has agreed to operate within the Slovene SAWP. To this effect, the program of this union says that it will operate in a quite autonomous way within the Slovene SAWP. In the event of the leadership of the SDU assessing that this autonomy has been threatened, activities may continue outside the SAWP.

It can already be predicted that there will undoubtedly be a dispute with the SAWP. At the founding meeting of the SDU, even Dmitrije Rupel, the newly elected president of the executive council of this union, clearly defined the function of this new political organization. We will be the opposition in a system without an opposition, said Rupel, we will be a bridge toward a system with oppositions, of a still undirected democracy.

Other participants in the founding meeting also repeated this stand on the SDU as an opposition. Ivo Urbancic requested that the SDU be founded as an opposition organ and stressed that he thought that the new union was sufficiently well qualified to take up the role of an opposition. These words were greeted with loud applause, in the same way that all sarcastic sentences disparaging the nonparty system of Yugoslavia and the interpretation of the necessity for a multiparty system as a prerequisite for a democratic society were greeted.

The Slovene SAWP accepts the competition of ideas. This was said by Viktor Zakelj, vice president of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference in his opening speech at the founding meeting of the SDU. The fact that members of the SDU define themselves as an incipient organized opposition does not in itself have to be a problem. However, a problem will arise at the moment when proposals that have been endorsed at the founding meeting of the new union are put forward at SAWP sessions. One of these is the proposal that a monument be erected to all victims of the Second World War in Slovenia. When this proposal was first presented in public, it met with sharp refusal and rejection of the idea that the same monument be erected to those who were in the Liberation Front and those who fought against it. At the founding meeting of the SDU, applause also welcomed the assessment that the Constitutional Commission of the SR of Slovenia did not meet the expectations of Slovenes and that no worthwhile amendments to the Slovene Constitution could be expected from this commission. What will happen if these assessments are presented at the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference, which has given its full support to the Constitutional Commission? The SDU also has similar proposals, and the Slovene SAWP will probably have to again conduct discussions on a large number of them. The Slovene SAWP has taken the Slovene Democratic Union under its auspices. Nonetheless, the Slovene SAWP will find it difficult to revise its assessment of Edition 57 of the NOVA REVIJA magazine, in which articles by people who are now in the leadership of the newly elected SDU were published.

In any case, the two directions of development which interpreters of Slovene events announced much earlier are inevitably coming to an end. The first direction is the development of the idea that appeared at public meetings of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, which were held at the time when this Committee occasionally had meetings for all its members. This idea amounts to the following: Official power should be forced to the wall and required to make a decision and say "yes" or "no." It will be interesting to see how Slovene political forums will react if the proposals on the construction of the aforementioned monument or on the redefinition of the assessment of edition 57 of the NOVA REVIJA magazine are officially put forward in one of the political organizations of our most northern republic.

The other direction of development stems from the first, and is of significance for the whole country, primarily for the general situation in the re-examination of our political system. In the event of the SDU not being only a temporary phenomenon—and this can be expected—a political organization will operate in Slovenia which has its own program, its own candidates, and its own public opinion. Will the political system that we have now be able to find room within itself for a political organization of this kind?

Regardless of the fact that SDU members refuse to call themselves a new political party, their departure from the SAWP would the final test, and not just for them. Both the SDU leadership and the political leadership of Slovenia will need much wisdom for the days to come. The political organizations in the other republics will have to state their opinion of all this, whether they want to or not. And they should do this not only because of the Yugoslav passports held by members of the SDU, which is a political organization with the clear stand that it views Yugoslavia as a community created with an agreement between the peoples which live on its territory. Yugoslavia is nevertheless something more than an agreement.

Zagreb Association Establishes Goals

AU1701170189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14-15 Jan 89 p 12

[Seada Vranic article: "Neither National Nor Unitarist"]

[Text] It is certain that neither optimists nor pessimists are satisfied with the meeting of the members of alternative movements which took place in the Zagreb University Lecturers Club on 10 January. The former were dissatisfied because the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative was not formally constituted and the Yugoslav public was not officially addressed, and the latter because the whole thing did not fail. However, both have reason to think that things went just as they had predicted. Optimists can justifiably assert that the initiative meeting has shown that the idea of forming an alternative group for the democratic reintegration of Yugoslavia has come at the right time and fallen on fertile ground, that the interest in it as well as the will to realize it are great. However, those people who are skeptical, not to say malicious, about the idea can conclude that the alternative movements still do not know what to do with themselves, because they have shown signs of the initial diseases that all similar initiatives suffer from.

However, let us return to the association itself, which has become a political fact, although its official promotion has been postponed by about 20 days. Let us briefly recall: Its aim is the democratic integration of Yugoslavia (cultural and political), upon socialist foundations and with full respect for civil rights and freedoms, national identity, and orientation.

First the Minutes

It will be no exaggeration to say that the idea itself appeared as a reaction to the ever increasing national and nationalist divisions and various types of homogenization—in short, that it is a reaction against the mindlessness that undermines the possibility of common life and development. That fact alone has ensured the association a large number of champions and supporters in advance, even outside Zagreb.

It seemed to many people who came to attend the meeting, be it by invitation or out of curiosity, that they will witness something new. This explains the great interest among journalists who occupied virtually all places in the not so big hall of the Zagreb University Lecturers Club, so that only several chairs were left for the organizers, that is, founders of the association. The problem was eventually solved, so that younger people gave up their chairs to older ones. Everybody (including the people who had not been invited) was told he was welcome. Only television cameras were shown the door because "what we are holding here is a working session, and not a political meeting." This somewhat untypical beginning announced an untypical event, but that nevertheless proved to be too much to expect. Because the first words uttered by chairman Branko Horvat that "one should first choose a person to keep the minutes" sounded so familiar that a person present could not help saying that one cannot even dream without somebody to keep the minutes. True, Horvat did his best to avoid the usual political language, and his introductory speech, in which he recalled the genesis of the initiative and the aims of the association, was free from any of the phrases one can also hear at many political and frequently scientific meetings. Nevertheless, everything that followed resembled things seen before, thereby proving that intellectuals are also not immune to the virus that seriously affects all our politicians. For example, the moment the debate was opened on the aims and meaning of the association, and particularly on the draft statute, it suddenly seemed from the hairsplitting on certain details that it is more important for the association to establish what kind of documents it will have than how it will work. A comparison with official political gatherings was therefore inevitable.

It turned out, however, that insisting on details was not altogether useless. Some things did need to be cleared up, not so much for the sake of participants as because of the openness to which the association aspires, because a certain shadow was cast over the association for some time, which could give rise to suspicions about its aims. Above all, one had to clear up the character of the association. There is no doubt that it wants to be Yugoslav, so for this reason the conclusion was adopted that intellectuals from other communities should be invited to the next meeting planned for 2 February, even more so since about 60 such intellectuals had already expressed the desire to join the association. However, due to possible allusions that need not always be well-meaning, which may lead to the idea that what is involved is a kind of supranational or even antinational, that is, unitarist and integrational society, it was necessary to clear up the dilemma and remove possible suspicions.

Yugoslav Dialogue

True, this suspicion is implicitely removed by Article 1 of the proposed statute, which insists not only on civil, but also on national freedoms. Possible confusion could have ensued from Horvat's assertion that the association would not resemble the national committees in Ljubljana and Belgrade (even if he recognized their right to work in a way they assess as appropriate), and then from Dr Predrag Matvejevic's statement that national committees cannot win Yugoslav credibility. However, in the end it turned out that there was no dilemma for the founders themselves. This was most appropriately expressed by Vojin Franjicevic when he said that as a Croatian intellectual, he feels there is no need for a national committee in which he would express his national affiliation, and that he believes that the point of the association lies in opening up the possibility for a dialogue with Yugoslav intellectuals and the opportunity to publicly express his ideas, proposals, and criticism.

It was also relatively easy to solve the dilemma of whether the association is merely a facade for a new political party. True, both Horvat and Matvejevic rejected such ideas in their previous statements for the press, and Dr Zarko Puhovski, as well as some others, joined them in this at the meeting itself. Puhovski said that the association does not need a political program (although there have to be some principles) because "we are not founding a political party." One could say, in fact, that the founders' thoughts cover a range of ideas, such as the idea that the association should be a kind of the Club of Rome (Matvejevic), or an alternative group of intellectuals in the broadest sense of the word (Horvat), or of all people with goodwill and noble intentions who have their heart set on the prosperity of Yugoslavia and its integration into modern world trends (Academician Predrag Vranicki).

As things are now, it is hard to believe that the association could attract nationalists, that is, people tainted with nationalist or religious hatred and chauvinism. Probably for that reason, Horvat's defense of a provision in the proposed statute which explicitly excludes the possibility of such people joining the association was all the more superfluous. True, Horvat's intervention should not be interpreted as insisting on political suitability, but primarily as a moral stand, and therefore a nervous and improper reaction by a journalist, who declared the above-mentioned provision to be a copy of Article 133 of the Criminal Code, was inappropriate. A more flexible approach prevailed at the meeting, so it was suggested that the Initiative Committee include affirmative instead of restrictive provisions. This is all the more useful because who can decide on the degree to which a future member is tainted with nationalism is a big question, and it is also a sensitive question because—as somebody put it—there are some people, even among the founders, who were (unjustifiably) slurred in various ways. After all, even if it is difficult to deny Matvejevic's words, "We know those people who have been known as Croatian nationalists and who are now speaking out against Croats, those people who change their opinions from one session to the other, and those who show a new face for every occasion," it still seems that it is not appropriate to set limitations at the very beginning. This holds true for the very reason that the name of the association and the aims formulated at the initiative meeting can hardly be interpreted by any nationalist or careerist as an invitation to join it.

Kosovo Polje Communists Object to Candidates

LD1201040789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2110 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Pristina, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Kosovo Polje LC District Conference is of the opinion that a thorough ideopolitical differentiation within the Kosovo leadership should be conducted first, and then the necessary cadre renewal.

At a meeting this evening, Kosovo Polje Communists raised many objections on the proposed list of candidates for party organs in Kosovo. Concerns over cadre manipulation and assuming functions by those who will carry on the wrong policy of their predecessors was expressed. All those who, through their actions or omissions, contributed to the 8-year-long counterrevolution in Kosovo, as well as Serbian and Montenegrin careerists, must be withdrawn from the cadre lists, it was stressed.

Kosovo needs a united leadership that will implement the established policy consistently and will halt the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from the province, it was concluded.

Spokesman Praises Weapons Conference Decisions

LD1201201889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1835 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia assesses that the adoption by consensus of the Paris conference final declaration banning the uses of chemical arms represents still another strong political manifestation of the readiness of most members of the international community to foster the ban of these arms—stated today Yugoslav Government Press Spokesman Ivo Vajgl.

Vajgl told the regular press conference that this also affords evidence of the readiness to speed up the adoption of new international regulations on banning chemical arms and to encourage efforts towards general disarmement.

The spokesman stressed that the nonaligned countries' active and constructive stance had contributed significantly to the reaching of accord on the final declaration.

Yugoslavia expects that the results of Paris conference, which ended yesterday, will positively affect the forthcoming session of the disarmement conference in Geneva and will step up the working out of a convention on the banning of production, uses and storing of chemical weapons, Vajgl underscored.

He reiterated that at the third special session of the U.N. General Assembly, Yugoslavia suggested that this year an international conference should be called under the U.N. auspices towards the signing of a convention on the banning of the production, uses and storing of chemical arms.